

Threat to polytechnic budgets

by David Jobbins

But cuts in polytechnic budgets in 1981 are inevitable unless local education authorities are prepared to use their own rate-borne funds to maintain spending levels, polytechnic directors said this week.

Last week the Department of Education and Science decided to reduce the national higher education "pool" which finances advanced work in public sector colleges, from £395m in 1978-79 to £375m next year.

Since the majority of advanced work is done in the 30 polytechnics, the £20m reduction in the pool will mean average spending in each polytechnic will have to be at least £300,000 less next year than it was in 1978-79.

Next year will be the first in

which the size of the pool has been fixed in advance. In the past, education authorities have been automatically reimbursed for whatever they spent on "poor" higher education. Under the new system they will still be able to spend as much as they want—but expenditure above the pool allocation will have to come out of local rate income.

The Rev Dr George Tolley, principal of Sheffield City Polytechnic, said the new system represented a "massive shift in public sector financing at a stroke without any debate". It was a major swing back to local control of polytechnic finance, completely against the recommendation of the Labour Government's Oakes report.

Under the old system, he added, Sheffield ratepayers had to contribute

between £250,000 and £300,000 directly to the polytechnic, with the rest of the £14.5m budget coming from the pool. To maintain the budget under the new system, however, local ratepayers would have to contribute about £3m.

Mr Ron Hedley, director of Trent Polytechnic, said the new system would "put the emphasis on the most efficient and cost-effective institutions would suffer most harshly."

But Mr David Bethel, chairman of the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics, said the change could increase efficiency in the long term. "If the Government, by capping the pool, is going to give governing bodies far more responsibility to do what they can with the money, that is an extremely good exercise and I am not going to be pessimistic about the outcome."

New CNAA approval lets Teesside breathe again

The threat that Teesside Polytechnic would lose approval from Council for National Academic Awards by next summer has been lifted.

The CNAA agreed this week that it could continue approval without limit.

The decision followed last week's visit to the polytechnic by a review team which was involved in 37 separate meetings totalling 40 hours of discussions. The visiting party, a majority of whom had been on the May 1978 quinquennial visit which led to the warning, unanimously agreed that Teesside was meeting CNAA requirements, had justified CNAA confidence that it had the potential to rectify the situation, and merited its continued place among the United Kingdom's major higher education institutions.

The validating body's council accepted the visiting party's verdict and, according to a statement agreed by the Polytechnic, Cleveland education authority, and the CNAA, "acknowledged the considerable progress which the polytechnic had made in a relatively short time."

As detailed in last week's *THES*, extra resources have been ploughed into the polytechnic at a considerable rate. Acting director Dr Michael Longfield commented: "In general terms the outlook for the polytechnic has never been so favourable. The polytechnic has particular areas of strength on which we shall build in the next decade. We are completely confident of the continued support of the county council and education committees."

"The progress we have made in the short space of time we have had has been the result of indefatigable efforts of a large number of

people connected with the council, education committee, governing body, and especially staff of the polytechnic."

The internal procedures which were introduced over the 12 months put the polytechnic in a very strong position to meet the problems of the immediate future.

Dr Longfield agreed that the polytechnic could say they have no more of any kind in relation to the problems of the immediate future. "No establishments could say they have no more of any kind in relation to the problems of the immediate future. It is our impression that matters of a peripheral nature may well be discussed in the report, but we do not have any difficulties of a significant nature."

The CNAA report of the visit will be sent to the polytechnic, Cleveland early next spring. Line with the CNAA's new system of validation, there will be joint reviews of progress at a side, as at other institutions, for the summer of 1981.

One issue the visiting team known to have a continuing concern is how the polytechnic has met its social studies. Formerly a department in its own right, for 18 months it has been split between the Department of Humanities, the polytechnic's health sciences, and the Department of Social Studies. Next Monday the governing body is to be asked to react to a proposal for a reorganization creating new departments. One will be social studies and public administration, while another will be Community Studies, which will include the health sciences, social education and community health visitors and district nurses.

Take-over threat at Huddersfield

December 21, 1979 No 374

Take-over threat at Huddersfield

by David Jobbins

Kirkstons Council, in West Yorkshire is threatening to take over detailed control of Huddersfield Polytechnic following a secret auditors' report which alleges that there has been misadministration of its financial and other affairs.

The council is considering asking Mr. Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education and Science, to allow senior officials of the council to take over day-to-day running of the polytechnic for up to a year. The academic board has already passed a resolution recording its "complete confidence" in the leadership of the rector, Mr. Ken Durrands, and its total opposition on both constitutional and academic grounds to the suggested takeover.

The 40-page report arises from a nine-month audit at the polytechnic initiated by the authority following misuse by some members of the degree of accountability over its finances.

"The strongly-worded report examines the finances of a number of polytechnic departments, and alleges a lack of control over a number of operations, criticizes the polytechnic's existing internal systems, and questions why other systems were



Mr. Ken Durrands: a vote of confidence.

not set up to cover obvious weaknesses. In every department examined, the report concludes that there is an urgent need for tightening up of controls, financial systems and security.

It suggests there has been no efficient control on purchase of

equipment. One example given is a special course arranged by the polytechnic for the former Iranian government for students destined to work on an industrial project. Although the Iranian government agreed to pay full-cost fees for the students, the authority ended up having to underwrite a massive £200,000 bill it did not expect.

The polytechnic has any to see the report which is so secret that only the finance sub-committee of the authority's resources and planning committee and a small number of officers—less than 10—have seen it. Councillors who this week were asked to approve recommendations for the committee were asked to put their faith in the committee and do so without having seen the allegations.

Drastic action in response to the report has been called for by the sub-committee and any to see the full committee. Its recommendations include:

• Appropriate disciplinary action against those concerned with the misadministration of the polytechnic's financial and other affairs.

• That with the consent of the Secretary of State the running of the institution be vested in the officers of Kirkstons authority for

an interim period not exceeding 12 months.

• That authority be given to the sub-committee to approve of decisions made by the polytechnic governors for a similar period.

Because the polytechnic is monitored by the resources and planning committee rather than the education committee, education officials and councillors have not seen the report either.

Urgent talks have already started between polytechnic and authority officials and were planned with representatives of the governing body. Whether the threat to take over the polytechnic is implemented depends partly on the outcome of the talks. Certainly no request had been sent to Mr Carlisle before the full council met this week to approve its committee recommendations.

A political clash over the affair was unlikely as the move already has the backing of the Conservative leader of the council and the two leaders of the other parties. Even councillors were being asked to have faith in the committee decision and approve the recommendations without having seen the report.

Continued on back page

Professors want their say

by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

Britain's engineering professors have warned that they must be consulted over the detailed implementation of the Finiston plan for radically restructuring engineering education.

However, they have enthusiastically welcomed many of the report's recommendations—particularly those for enhanced engineering courses with improved practical elements—although they are concerned about methods for reorganising university funding and the powers of the new Engineering Authority.

At a recent meeting, the committee of the Engineering Professors' conference backed the Finiston plan for more industrial training for engineers and "enthusiastically supported" the recommendation for a two-tier system of enhanced engineering courses.

"In these areas the report is very much on the lines that we have been proposing in the past," Professor Alec Chisholm, chairman of the committee, said. "But Professor Chisholm, professor of mechanical engineering at Salford University, added that the report of Sir Monty Finiston's

committee of inquiry into the manufacturing industry contained many grey areas over questions of funding, the organization of the new authority and the role of the industry in engineering education.

The report proposes the setting up of a new engineering authority, to be run mainly by engineers, which would control professional engineering life, including monitoring University Grants Committee funds for engineering departments.

"Certainly, we need a better system to protect overall funding for engineering. However, the extent to which we will accept external influences to ensure this will not generate a great deal of debate among engineering professors."

Professor Chisholm warned that the engineering professors must have an important role in influencing the detailed organization of the new body. "The engineering professors' conference is the most senior academic body in the United Kingdom that influences engineering education and training and we must be closely consulted over these new proposals."

In general, however, engineering professors welcomed the Finiston report.

Unions may have to vie for funds

by John O'Leary

Student unions would have to compete for their funds with academic departments under proposals made this week by Dr Rhodes Boyson, Under-Secretary for Higher Education.

In a series of meetings with the interested parties Dr Boyson put a stark choice which will please local authorities but not the vice-chancellors or the students themselves. The only alternative to his preference for simplification of existing arrangements would be a scheme incorporating an element of voluntary union membership, he said.

If agreement can be reached in a further round of consultation, the new system will be introduced in 1981. It will satisfy the criticisms of local authorities and MPs that the present system lacks accountability by ensuring that for the first time those who set union fees are also the beneficiaries.

The scheme would see the rejection of proposals made under the Labour Government involving a two-part system with minimum fee levels built in to guarantee the future of unions in small colleges. This safeguard will not be on offer from Dr Boyson.

Membership fees would be negotiated locally and paid for out of the institutions' recurrent grant. Funds would be allocated by central government. In the normal way, via the University Grants Committee or, for public sector institutions, the Rate Support Grant.

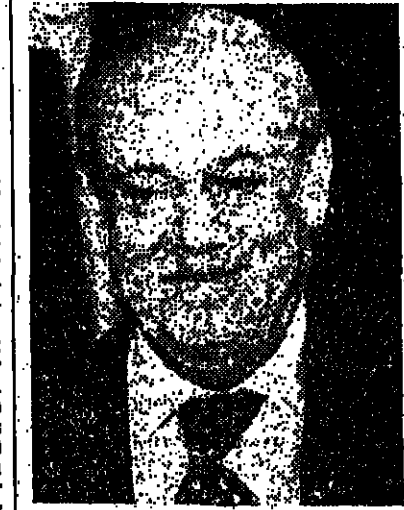
Such a scheme would put student unions in direct competition for funds with other departments in their institutions. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and the National Union of Students have always maintained that such a relationship would be a recipe for unnecessary strife. The CVCV has already stated its preference for a continuation of the present system with nationally agreed fee guidelines based on the inflation rate.

The students, who learned officially of the new plan only yesterday, are particularly anxious to dispose of the option involving voluntary membership, which would cover union political activities. Although the two-part scheme is not a favoured by Dr Boyson, he is undoubtedly under pressure from some backbench Tory MPs to introduce at least some element of voluntary membership.

Mr Trevor Phillips, NUS president, said: "That is what I like about this government, they give you a choice. You can either off one of your legs or blow your brains out. I am unhappy with the proposal but we will examine it. We will not consider the question of voluntary membership."

The new proposals have surfaced less than a week after Sir James Hamilton, Permanent Secretary at the Department of Education and Science, said that the Government was going ahead on the basis of the Labour scheme.

Lords to set up select committee on science



Lord Soames: a letter to Norman St. John Stevas.

A select committee on science and technology is to be set up by the House of Lords. It was formally agreed this week. The new group will scrutinise activities covered by several Government departments and will fill the gap left by the recent reorganisation of the Commons select committees.

However, the actual terms of reference for the committee have still to be decided, and this could cause problems as Defence Secretary Francis Pym has already objected to the inclusion of defence research in the group's remit.

In a letter to Norman St. John Stevas, leader of the House of Commons, Lord Soames, who is leader of the House of Lords, points out that the House of Commons select committee now has responsibility for science and technology.

"Many peers feel that a Lords committee on the subject would be worthwhile for that reason," he writes. "Moreover, there are some 30 peers with knowledge of the field of whom 13 are Fellows of the Royal Society."

NATFHE cites 1944 Act to Humberside

The leading public sector union this week invoked the Education Act to prevent a authority cutting its adult education provision.

A solicitor's letter has been sent to Humberside County Council following a decision to suspend non-vocational classes for the rest of the financial year. The National Association of Teachers in Higher Education (NATFHE) is demanding the reinstatement of the classes and an undertaking that no more cuts will be made regarding suspension.

Similar action is being considered by branches in a number of other areas, notably in Nottingham where the union fears that classes outside the further education colleges may be lost.

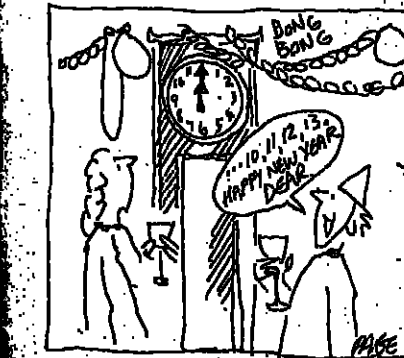
NATFHE is relying on a clause of the 1944 Act which obliges local authorities to provide cultural training and recreational facilities for persons over compulsory school age. The Humberside union, which has been represented locally as a trade union, is described by the union's solicitor as "the breach of the authority's duty".

NEXT WEEK

Decolonizing the University
Rhodesia
R. W. Davies on Stall
Anthony Flew on CAPD
Peter Hamilton on
Newby's Green and
Land
University finance turmoil

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Pip pip to the Old Year



by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

It's good news for committed and dedicated teachers. The *THES* can reveal. There will be more drinking time for the New Year celebrations. Now for the bad news. If you blink you'll miss it.

This confusing prospect is revealed in a secret Science Research Council press bandolier, a copy of which has been obtained by the *THES*. This shows that there will be 61 seconds in the "minute" between 11.59 pm on December 31, 1979, and 00.00 on January 1, 1980. The BBC will even broadcast seven pips instead of the usual six.

This leap second is being introduced to ensure that the time signals, which are controlled by atomic clocks, will remain within one second of mean local time at Greenwich which is established by astronomical observations of the slightly irregular rotation of the earth. The shock SRC report discloses.

'No Oxbridge bias'

Allegations of an Oxbridge bias in the selection of Civil Service administrators have been backed up by a study of candidates' stores in Civil Service tests carried out by a former statistician in the Civil Service department.

See page 2

University staff to decide on 16 per cent pay offer

by Ngalo Creguer
and David Jobbins

The Association of University Teachers Council is expected to decide tomorrow (Saturday) whether to accept a 16 per cent pay offer, payable in two stages.

It is understood that they have been offered a rise of 10 per cent, backdated to October, 1979, and a further 6 per cent, payable from April 1. Included in the package deal is a recommendation that the Clegg Standing Commission on Pay Comparability.

The total offer is just over half the 30 per cent the AUT claimed was necessary to restore the erosion in salaries since 1974. But it is slightly more than the interim 8 per cent offered to university technicians and the likely 13 per cent being talked about for manual staff.

But what will worry lecturers is that the offer is below the existing 17 per cent inflation rate which is steadily climbing.

The offer is likely to command some acceptance in the universities but their main concern will be how much will be built into next year's baseline for pay and price rises.

A 10 per cent rise would add about another £40m to the total academic staff wage bill in the universities in a full year.

There is no doubt that like universities will have further to increase their deficits to pay for a rise of this order. Although they have received two supplementations, of about £31m and £21m, to take them up to next April they also suffered a budget cut.

From this supplementation they must pay for the first six months of the academic and the technical staff pay rises, and the first five months of the manual workers' rises. They must also pay for pay rises last year such as clerical awards which exceeded the national 5 per cent built into that year's grant. On top of that they must shoulder the burden of price increases for which no supplementation has been made, and Clegg awards.

The universities have told all the unions that they are committed to saving £46.8 million on salaries out of the £53.5 million grant. In addition they must meet new increases from August, 1979, to the end of March, 1980. They worked out taking the national 5 per cent in the original grant they were only able to offer a figure of 7.5 per cent. The difference between that 7.5 per cent and any offer or agreement above it is their headline deficit at least next year's baseline is announced.

A 16 per cent pay rise for academic staff would produce the following salaries: lecturer (minimum) from £4,333 to £5,026; senior lecturer (maximum) from £9,952 to £11,545; senior lecturer (minimum) from £10,775 to £12,499; professor (minimum) £10,998 to £12,757; and £12,757 to £14,510.

Continued on back page

Quango cuts pose threat to IUC

by John O'Leary

Civil servants are proposing that the Government should close the Inter University Council for Education Overseas as part of its purge on quangos.

If recommendations under consideration within the Overseas Development Administration are accepted, the IUC will be wound up in 1981 and become an advisory committee of the British Council. The 59 staff, including eight senior officers, would be absorbed by the council.

The catalyst for such a move is next month's report on quangos by Sir Leo Pilatky, former Permanent Secretary at the Department of Trade, which is expected to recommend a rationalization of aid facilities. The question of reorganizing international aid has been a possibility since Sir Michael Swann's report proposed this two years ago.

Although universities' participation in the work of IUC represents a contribution to its costs, the entire budget of the council comes from the ODA. Next year's allocation of £2.6m has already been made but vice-chancellors and IUC officials have been warned that senior civil servants favour amalgamation with the British Council in March, 1981.

Mr Richard Griffiths, Director of the IUC, said: "It would be tragic if, as a response to economy, the cheapest and most efficient mode of operation was rolled up in the most expensive. It is my claim that for every pound the taxpayer spends on aid through us he gets £3 worth of operational aid in return."

Through the British Council they get only 25p of operation per pound.

Both sides have always admitted to an overlap in the provision made abroad. The IUC operates direct links between institutions at home and abroad, while the British Council administers its aid via its own offices abroad. The latest proposal appears to follow the recommendations of the Berill Report, which has otherwise been rejected in its sections on reorganizing aid.

Literacy Unit broadens scope

The Adult Literacy Unit is to be funded for a further three years under a wider remit which will embrace general adult basic education.

Detailed plans for the unit—will be announced by the Education Minister, Mr Mark Carlisle in the Commons early next week.

It is understood the new centre will be responsible for the co-ordination of adult basic education work covering numeracy, communication and coping skills as well as literacy.

The Government will be granting the unit £500,000 in the first year and will decide the funding level for the next two years at a later date. At the end of the three-year period the unit's position will be reviewed.

The Adult Literacy Unit was established in April 1978 for a two-year period as the national focus for adult literacy work in England and Wales. It was granted Government funds of £300,000 a year.

Credit transfer plan

The Government may be willing to finance a "credit" transfer scheme, enabling students to interrupt their studies or switch courses, the Department of Education and Science said this week.

The DES is circulating copies of a feasibility study for a transfer scheme drawn up by Mr Peter Lord of Salford University. In the study, Mr Lord is being asked to

No student loans yet

The Association of County Councils is asking the Government to investigate the possibility of introducing a system of student loans to replace grants.

Councillors are taking Dr Rhodes Boyson, Under-Secretary for Higher Education, at his word over previous statements of support for loans. Dr Boyson has said that the introduction of loans is under consideration as a long-term policy but that no change is to be made in the immediate future.

Contents

Rhodesia to Zimbabwe



Who will succeed Robert Craig (above) as principal of the University of Rhodesia and what will its future be under black rule? N. T. Chideya and M. J. M. Sibanda try to answer these questions, 10

Black universities in South Africa, 5

Joseph Stalin Tyrant or prisoner of the Soviet system? R. W. Davies reassesses Stalin on the centenary of his birth, 9

Green and pleasant? Peter Hamilton reviews Howard Newby's new book on social change in rural England, 13

APT v NATFHE David Jobbins traces the slow and uncertain rise of the Association of Polytechnic Teachers, 8

Leader, 23

Academic freedom Antony Flew offers a highly critical assessment of the Campaign for Academic Freedom and Democracy, 12

Fighting the cuts Only the AUT can speak on behalf of the academic profession and it should do so loudly and clearly, argues Laurie Sapper in "Union View", 21

North American news 4

Overseas news 5

Books 13-16

Noticeboard 17

North American News

WASHINGTON
The US Department of Health, Education and Welfare has issued a new "policy interpretation" of the way Title IX of the education amendment of 1972, which bars sex discrimination in schools and universities, should apply to college sports.

That doesn't sound very exciting, but it was the big news of the week in the higher education press here. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* devoted the whole front page and three inside pages to the new policy statement, and it took up the first three pages of *Higher Education and National Affairs*.

The new guidelines, which also go into good coverage in general news papers and magazines, say essentially that colleges and universities must give as many athletic scholarships per capita to women as to men, and that they should provide "equivalent" sports facilities for the two sexes. HEW secretary Patricia Harris has assigned 120 people in her office of civil rights to investigate allegations of sex discrimination in college sports.

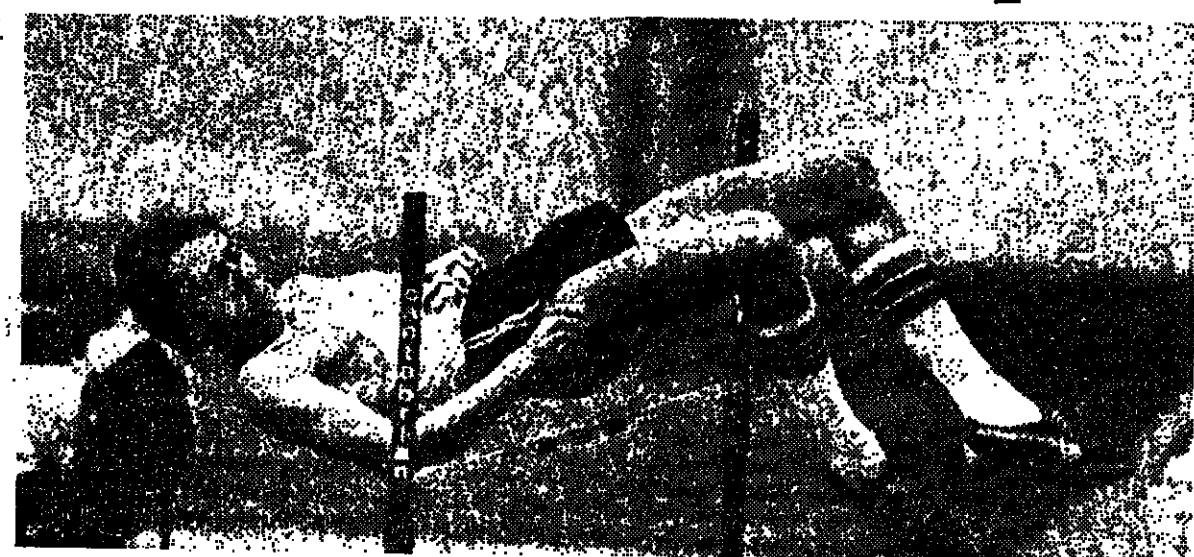
To the observer from overseas the attention given by American higher education to sex discrimination in sports seems ludicrous at first. The issue frequently excites no more than interest and passion than the far more important failure of major American universities to promote women to senior faculty and administrative posts. At present less than 5 per cent of the tenured positions at institutions like Harvard, Stanford and Princeton are held by women and universities are often accused of sex discrimination in their tenure decisions.

But if this seems a case of distorted priorities, it is also an illustration of the extraordinary size and importance of college sports in the United States.

As William Davis, president of the University of New Mexico, wrote in the latest issue of the American Council of Education's quarterly journal, *Educational Research*, for can sue the interests of the alumni or governing board any quicker, or more intensively than athletics? By far the most important varsity sport in terms of expenditure and publicity is (American) football, a game that might be described as a less flowing and more stylized version of rugby. Basketball comes an easy second.

College football has been booming since the mid-1970s. Attendance has been rising and so has television coverage. The ABC network, which pays the National Collegiate

Sex bias ruled out as women get more sport scholarships



Champion high-jumper Dwight Stones sets the standards.

given week during the college year witnessed, cheered and booed by millions of spectators across the country.

No one knows how much money universities and colleges spend on intercollegiate athletics. Robert Atwell, policy analysis and research director at the American Council on Education, put the total figure at about \$550m a year. The *College Board Review* estimated \$200m last year.

Whatever the expenditures, says Dr Atwell, they do not begin to reflect the national importance of intercollegiate athletics. "Some highly distinguished universities are better known for their athletic accomplishments than for their scholarship, and no other subject can stir the interests of the alumni or governing board any quicker, or more intensively than athletics."

By far the most important varsity sport in terms of expenditure and publicity is (American) football, a game that might be described as a less flowing and more stylized version of rugby. Basketball comes an easy second.

College football has been booming since the mid-1970s. Attendance has been rising and so has television coverage. The ABC network, which pays the National Collegiate

Athletic Association \$29m to televise about 60 games a year, estimates that its Saturday football broadcasts attract eight million viewers a week.

The college basketball contract, held by the rival NBC network, is worth \$8.5m a year. In addition the NCAA has a new agreement with a cable television system, the entertainment and sports programming network (ESPN), which transmits sports events 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. ESPN is paying less than \$2m this year to show hundreds of college games, the less popular sports as well as football and basketball. But, if cable TV expands as fast as some people predict, that contract could be as valuable as the ones with the conventional networks in a few years time.

Ever since President Theodore Roosevelt's investment in 1905 to ban college football because of its win-at-all-costs brutality, the enterprise has been pervaded by controversy. Over the decades several Blue Ribbon inquiries have looked into the abuses, though none has really been very effective in putting an end to them.

Most recently a three-year commission sponsored by the American Council on Education and funded

by the Ford Foundation reported last October on the excessive and growing commercialization of college sports, which it said were overshadowing education at some universities. But the commission chairman, Ewald Nyquist, former president of the State University of New York, called the effort a "new failure" because it could not agree on any strong recommendations to clean up varsity sports.

Several volumes would be needed to record all the alleged abuses. Many fall into the general category of recruiting brilliant sportsmen whose intellectual abilities fall well below the university's normal academic standards, and then making sure they remain at the institution by enrolling them on the least demanding courses or even by outright fraud, altering their grades or giving them credit for courses they never took.

But in the end many college athletes have to leave without degrees. Blacks are particularly liable to be exploited in this way. One recent estimate was that 70 per cent of the black students engaged in big time college athletics never graduate, and the disproportionate numbers in physical education.

The controversy over women's athletics is very much a product of the 1970s. It is a result firstly of the explosive growth of female participation in sports (between 1965 and 1977 there was a 300 per cent increase in girls taking part in high school games)—and secondly of the legislative push to outlaw discrimination, notably the passage of Title Nine in 1972.

The NCAA, which probably is more independent power than other college association, failed to persuade congress to exempt its time revenue-producing sports from Title Nine and last year Joseph Callahan, who was HEW secretary, ruled that institutions had to spend equal money on men's and women's sports. The howls of protest from the NCAA, together with 700 demands from other organizations for its interpretation, persuaded HEW to soften its interpretation.

The more flexible revised rule would still require equal participation in sports facilities and would only have to be "equivalent" for the two sexes. They would be allowed to spend more money on the major men's teams as the equipment for the women's teams was not too costly.

However, the NCAA, which governs men's sports, remains placidly opposed to the regulation. Walter Byers said it might challenge them in court. He said it would cause yet more Government intervention in university affairs and "will result in fewer opportunities for men and women students."

Women's educational groups fight hard for athletic equality. For example, Bernice Sandler, who directs the project on the status of women for the Association of American Colleges, says the suggestion that the sports is a discrimination from the important task of getting women into senior faculty positions. "In sports there is overt discrimination that you can document, and it is a very visible issue," she says. "The discrimination you see left with in faculty hiring and promotion is very subtle and much more difficult to deal with."

Dorothy Nelson, dean of the school at the University of Southern California, one of the biggest ball powers, says college athletes command such large public attention that equality for women would have a highly beneficial effect over effect on the academic standards of women.

Overseas News

Students confront Government

from Mario Modiano

ATHENS
The Greek Government's efforts to restore the international credit of Greek university degrees by tightening the rules on examinations, led to a major confrontation with the students this week.

The National Students Union of Greece (NEFE) reacting to the Government's decision on Wednesday to close down all universities to dispel the unrest, ordered the immediate occupation of all university buildings throughout Greece.

Small groups of students moved into the campuses during the night for the takeover. The plan is to sit in at the universities until December 19 when NEFE will meet again to determine its policy.

After a mass meeting of students organized by NEFE before the University of Athens on Friday, the student protesters marched to the Ministry of Education and delivered the text of a resolution calling for the abolition of the new measures.

The controversial law, known as Law 815, was passed by Parliament last year to abolish the third examination period, introduced by the dictatorship regime in order to ingratiate itself with the students, as well as to eliminate the system of transferring subjects for examination from one year to the next.

Law 815 also sets a limit to the time students take to graduate, an attempt to weed out the perennial students who make room for students who are willing to study.

The law was to be applied only to those students who entered university after its promulgation. Older students were given one year's grace. This grace period is now up.

The Government took this drastic action in view of severe criticism about the standards of Greek institutions of higher education from such international bodies as the Council of Europe. In view of Greece's impending entry in the European Economic Community the reputation of Greek university diplomas had to be enhanced as a matter of urgency.

Student organizations, however, objected to this "intensification" of their studies on the ground that before the students were asked to make these sacrifices the Government had to improve the material infrastructure of universities, classrooms, laboratories and textbooks, as well as to increase the teacher-student ratio. They protested that Greek expenditure for education was among the lowest in Europe.

The truth, of course, is also that the intensification of studies would allow students less time to indulge in political activism and would, above all, eliminate the perpetual students' revolt which is a professional political agitator.

Quite significantly, some university authorities while condemning the seizure of university buildings, have also urged the Government to reconsider the matter.

The Senate of Athens University which has some 50,000 students, agreed with the Government that the defects in the existing system must be remedied, but recommended this should be done by drafting a new, more comprehensive law in consultation with the students and the teachers.

Earlier this week left-wing extremists had occupied several faculty buildings in Athens and NEFE had announced plans for a nationwide

sit-in at all universities to last for three days from December 19. In view of this agitation which the Minister of Education, Mr Ioannis Varvatis, described as politically motivated, the Government announced on Wednesday its decision to close the universities until Christmas Eve, and prolong the academic year accordingly. This means that the universities will not reopen until January 8 because of the Christmas holidays.

NEFE, which is controlled by student unions affiliated to PASOK, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement which is the main opposition party, and to the Moscow-orientated Communist Party of Greece, was clearly forced to adopt a stiffer line and order the occupation of all universities for fear that the initiative was being lost to the militant left extremists.

All the opposition parties strongly criticized the Government for adopting an inflexible attitude on this issue.

Andreas Papandreu, leader of PASOK, rebuked the Government for "choosing the path of confrontation" with the students. "We invite the Government to abolish the inadmissible and anti-educational Law 815," he said. "Otherwise it will be fully responsible for the polarization and the impasse which is becoming inevitable."

The demand for the abolition of Law 815 was also echoed by other opposition parties but, for the time being, the Government shows no intention of budging. Mr Varvatis, the minister, said he expected that sooner or later the universities would resume normality.

Irish awards scheme passed

from John Walshe

DUBLIN
A bill, giving statutory powers to the National Council for Educational Awards has passed through parliament and has been signed by the President, Dr P. J. Hillary.

The NCEA has been in existence on an ad hoc basis since 1972. Because of political wrangling over its future during the lifetime of the previous Government and also because of the crowded schedule of bills during the present administration, it has only now acquired statutory powers.

The NCEA was founded on the recommendation of a steering committee on technical education, which reported over a decade ago on the great difficulties being experienced at the time in the area of courses and qualifications for technicians in Ireland. It was the opinion of this committee that these difficulties stemmed from the fact that many of the courses being pursued by technical students were accredited by institutions outside of Ireland and were necessarily orientated towards requirements other than Irish.

It recommended, among other things, the establishment of a national body for validating the educational content of such courses and for granting appropriate educational awards.

Since its inception, the NCEA has recognized 156 courses in a

wide range of disciplines including science, engineering, construction studies, teacher education, art and design, business studies, legal studies, hotel and catering studies. By the end of 1979, over 10,000 awards will have been conferred. The awarding of certificates to degrees—on students who have successfully completed recognized courses in the country's non-university third level education sector.

Most of its awards are for two-year certificate courses and very few degrees are awarded by the council. The whole question of whether or not degrees should be awarded only by universities was a very controversial one during the lifetime of the previous government. The present Fianna Fail administration favours the council giving degrees as well as other awards. Guidelines for the evaluation of degree courses have been published by the council which is anxious that its degrees should have the same high standing as those from the Republic's two universities.

Council chairman, Dr Tom Walsh, envisaged an expansion in the framework of the whole awards structure for the NCEA. This will include the accrediting of single subject one-year courses to the development of suitable post-graduate diplomas and degrees. Built into this expanded awards structure will be provisions for part-time attendance, sandwich block-release and linkages between courses—affording the greatest flexibility and ease of transferability for all the students involved.

Universities are of no interest in Austria

from Sue Masterman

VIENNA
Two-thirds of Austria's adult population is neither interested nor informed about what goes on in Austrian universities and institutes of higher education. This is the conclusion of a survey held in connexion with the "open door" week held by 18 Austrian higher education institutions earlier this year.

Although higher education is one of the largest posts in the Austrian internal budget, the general public is simply not interested in what is happening to the taxpayers' money.

Thirty-one per cent of those involved in the inquiry recorded that

they had absolutely no interest at all in being given more information about what went on in universities. A further third said that if the information were available, they would probably ignore it.

Seventeen per cent of those questioned did not know where Austria's universities were located. Half of those questioned thought that the universities were getting enough money. A third thought that the university budget could be increased, especially for research purposes.

When asked what associations they had with the concept "university", the majority simply said "education", one third referred to "research", 15 per cent said "progress" and 1 per cent said "isolation".

Plan to move school from Paris causes uproar

from Guy Neave

PARIS
After many hesitations the decision has been taken finally to move the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* of St Cloud out of Paris. Staff and students are to be rehoused in a quarter of Lyons, France's second city. The move is scheduled to take place by the start of the academic year 1982-83.

St Cloud, one of the major teacher training centres in France, is well known for its emphasis on international education. The International School is located nearby.

The move comes at a particularly delicate time. As in Britain the number of teacher trainees is undergoing stringent cutbacks. Furthermore the Government has recently introduced wide ranging reforms in teacher education. In future students in the *ecoles normales* will face a three year course leading to the equivalent of a university degree. They will also be required to be more specialized than in the past.

The reduction in the number of trainee teachers has been the subject of considerable protests. Last week the Communist *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* held a week of action throughout France to debate the implications of the Government's new training programme. Particularly active in this has been a group of secondary school teachers, the *Professors d'Enseignement Supérieur* *Courts*. Changes in teacher training programmes pose a particular threat to this body of teachers. The lengthening of teacher education to three years plus the introduction of the comprehensive middle school tends to do away with them as a separate category of teachers.

One of the main reasons for the continued delay over moving the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* has been the bitter infighting between the members of parliament for the Lyons region anxious to attract the school and its prestige to their constituencies to bolster their political fortunes. In the battle between the local socialists and the independent senators and Mayor of Lyons, Francis Collomb, it is the latter who won.

Also to be part of the Lyons site, sharing it with the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, will be a number of high level research institutes.

No wind of change in the black universities



Professor Devi Bughwan; the idea of a separate university is abhorrent to the Indian community, she says.

Peter David continues his series on higher education in South Africa

South Africa's black universities have not yet benefited from the wind of change which Africanists claim has been sweeping South Africa since the traumatic Soweto riots of 1976. The country's higher education system remains a perfect microcosm of apartheid possessing all its characteristics of inequality, intellectual rigidity and the artificial separation of the races.

The policy underlying the Nationalist Government's provision for black education was spelled out with his usual bluntness by Dr Verwoerd, when he was still Minister for Native Affairs in 1954. South Africa's blacks, he said, should learn that there was no place for them in white society "above a certain form of labour". Education should not show the black man "the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze".

Only four years later Verwoerd's doctrine found legislative expression in an oddly-named Extension of University Education Act which effectively sealed off the white universities from black students and provided for the creation of two exclusively black universities. An existing black university, Fort Hare, was deprived of its independence and brought under strict Government control.

Like many black universities—known disparagingly in South Africa as "bush colleges"—have fewer than 10,000 students between them, an eighth of the number of full-time white students. But there are also two other non-white universities in South Africa: the university for coloureds in Cape Town and the Indian University of Durban-Westville.

Like many institutions for non-whites in South Africa, Durban Westville is presided over by a white Afrikaner. Professor S. B. Olivier, the rector, believes strongly that the creation of his university in 1961 was a more effective way of providing Indians with higher education opportunities than integrating them in existing white universities.

In the view of most of his staff and students that being compelled to attend and work at a specifically Indian university is a denial of freedom is dismissed as "nonsense" by Professor Olivier. Opposition to the policy is very difficult to inspire, he says.

"When academics get too involved in politics, they are on dangerous ground. If you try to raise the politician's ego, you are in for trouble. The politician's ego is very difficult to divorce from the politics of the country because they are so interwoven. One can make statements within one's discipline, but there is always the fear that one may be overstepping the mark. You are entitled to your opinions so long as you do not express them. But there is no systematic monitoring of what is said in the classroom."

hilarious". She adds: "In 1961 the Indian community was dead against a segregated university, but within a year it was a fait accompli. We had to go along with it. I do not think the Indian community applauds the idea to this day; the idea of a separate university is abhorrent to them. But we did not want to cut off our noses to spite our face."

"As Indians we are not really eligible for posts elsewhere. It is almost impossible to get a full-time academic job outside this university."

Unlike the white universities, which come under the relatively liberal aegis of the Department of National Education, the Indian University is not formally autonomous and is tightly administered by the Department of Indian Affairs. The budget and the appointment of the rector are subject to ministerial approval, and its council has a majority of white members: ten whites to seven Indians.

Sixty per cent of the teaching staff, too, is white, but many of them have serious qualms about a segregated university system.

Professor Trevor Stinks, who in his botany department the lack of employment opportunities for Indians, and the difficulties in cooperating with white universities, are likely to threaten the future of teaching and research.

He adds: "The lack of adequate job opportunities is having a very unfortunate effect on our department. There are very few chances for our graduates to work professionally as botanists, although we are trying to get jobs for them in the Botanical Research Institute and may even develop our own marine biological institute."

But in certain employment detours students from joining the department and his research. We also face dangers of inbreeding, because we appoint many of our own graduates to the university staff.

Judge orders halt to Iranian crackdown

by our North American Editor

The Carter crackdown on Iranian students in the United States has come to a humiliating halt. A Federal judge in Washington ordered the Immigration and Naturalisation Service to stop its special check on the more than 50,000 Iranians studying at American colleges and universities, because it violates their constitutional rights.

Judge Joyce Green's ruling, was issued three days before the December 14 deadline by which all Iranian students were to have been interviewed and photographed by immigration officers.

The INS had already seen 50,437 students and decided to deport 6,042 for contravening the terms of their student visas. Another 3,212 with insufficient documentation were also in danger of expulsion.

The judge's order bars the Government from depriving any of these 9,256 students on the basis of information gained during the review, which President Carter ordered months ago at least partly to mollify Americans outraged by the occupation of their embassy in Tehran.

Discrimination on the basis of national origin could be justified only by overriding national interests. Judge Green said that justification was not present in this case because there was "at best a dubious relationship between the presence of Iranian students in this country and the safety of the American hostages in Tehran."



President Carter: began review in response to Tehran embassy siege.

polling to justify subjecting only Iranian students to a discriminatory 30-day round-up that violates the fundamental principles of American fairness," the judge decided.

The organizations that filed the lawsuit against the government, including the American civil liberties union, the confederation of Iranian students and the socialist workers' union, are of course jubilant about their success.

Race gap in entrance exam results

The college entrance examinations board has for the first time released the average scores of black and white candidates on its Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which is taken by millions of high school seniors each year. As expected, they show a wide gap.

The average score on the SAT mathematical section in 1977 was 355 for blacks and 498 for whites. On the verbal section the average was 329 for blacks and 449 for whites. Each part of the test is marked out of a possible 800.

The racial gap has remained much the same since 1972, the college board said.

The data, which were released to the house of representatives civil service subcommittee, prompted critics of the "testing industry" to renew their charges that the SAT and other standardized, multiple-choice tests are "culturally biased" against racial minorities.

The college board denies this, saying different test scores reflect different racial groups reflect "unequal opportunity, both educational and occupational, that has existed for generations," and the "many variables of environment, educational experience, family income, health and emphasis on learning in the home that greatly influence the rate of learning."

Jobs prospect boost for June graduates

Employment prospects for next June's college graduates look bright, despite forecasts of a recession in 1980.

We anticipate a slight increase (one to two per cent) in the number of college graduates that will be hired this year over last year and last year was a pretty good year," said John Singleton, director of Michigan State University's placement office, the biggest university careers office in the United States.

Dr Singleton was releasing his ninth annual survey of national recruiting trends. At the same time the College Placement Council published a similar survey of employers predicting that 13 per cent more positions would be available for next summer's graduates, with the biggest increase—26 per cent—for those with engineering degrees.

The CPC projected a 16 per cent increase in the recruitment of science and maths graduates; but an 8 per cent decline in jobs for liberal arts and social science graduates.

Companies' current recruiting plans contrast with the 1974 recession when recruitment fell sharply. "Most recruiters we've talked to now think that was a mistake."

"They find themselves with a 'bubble' in the pipeline of middle management people, ones they should have hired back then," said Patrick Schuetz, assistant director of placement at Michigan State University.

The only major sector expected to hire fewer people next year is the automobile industry, which is suffering a severe sales slump.

The surveys indicate that the gap between starting salaries for graduates with science and engineering degrees and those with liberal arts and social science degrees will continue to widen.

The latest can expect to see only a 4 per cent more than last year's social science and graduates in their first jobs, while engineers and scientists should get 8 per cent more on average.

Another survey, by the Science Manpower Commission (associated) degree in technology should get \$14,820 a year, compared to an average of \$11,660 for a social scientist with a four-year (bachelor) degree.

The Michigan State survey also showed that an applicant's academic record "is not nearly as important to potential employers as commonly believed". The recruiters gave a lower ranking 27 other factors ahead of grade-point average, by ability to get things done, "initiative", and "honesty and integrity".

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Simon Midgley

Association's long slow fight for the right to negotiate

The Association of Polytechnic Teachers has been fighting a long slow battle to gain recognition. The ultimate prize of a seat on the Burnham further education committee, with a direct vote in salary negotiations, is denied to it. It has therefore chosen the alternative route of seeking individual agreements with the United Kingdom's 31 polytechnics. Its success has been limited and also obscured by the varying degrees of recognition it has achieved.

This can range from full recognition for everything except pay from Brighton down to inclusion in the consultative process and a seat on the health and safety committee.

A major problem—and a source of almost unending acrimony—is the use that APT makes of the word recognition.

Many of APT's claims are challenged by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education on these grounds. Miss Jean Biscoe, NATFHE's assistant secretary for higher education, says: "In employment legislation, terms recognition must mean recognition for collective bargaining purposes."

The position of the employers' side is still the recognition for APT could be disruptive. Mr. Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education has said he doubted whether the Government should intervene in the question of recognition.

Recognition is really a matter to be discussed and settled between employees and management—in this case the local education authorities—not decided by central government," he said.

As the party dedicated to local autonomy it would not be appropriate for the Conservatives to dictate to local authorities which unions they should recognize.

APT's advance has been fought tooth and nail by NATFHE, the 70,000-strong fully recognized teachers' union representing lecturers throughout the public sector.

Its national policy is to refuse to sit on the same committee as APT representatives, where they may be appointed. For example, at Ulster Polytechnic, the Northern Ireland equivalent of the Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service, the Labour Relations Association is calling staff following APT's attempt to register for negotiating rights. APT has been recognized at Ulster since 1976 and claims about 240 members (a number are administrative staff).

APT claims to be based in Brighton, Huddersfield, Lancaster, Oxford, Ulster, North London, Portsmouth, Central London and at its headquarters at South Bank. It has achieved national recognition at North-East London, Liverpool, Trent and Leeds.

It has called in ACAS at Liverpool and Trent to increase the degree of recognition, and in an attempt to get recognition at Teesside, Kingston, and Wales. Many of these claims are challenged by NATFHE.

The union is in fact a federation of local associations based on the 31 polytechnics. It claims membership of about 3,500 persons but is questioned by its penetration at individual polytechnics probably relates to its degree of success in achieving recognition, and to the relative strength of the local NATFHE branch.

One undoubted claim made by APT is that it is the only organization to speak solely for polytechnic staff. Its leaders argue that NATFHE must look over its shoulder all the time at its mass membership in the colleges.

APT's recognition at Brighton and Huddersfield is extensive and clear. But its claims at other polytechnics are treated with some scepticism by NATFHE. At Lancaster the education authority has had a change of mind and is moving in the direction of withdrawing recognition. At its recognition extends as far as representation of individual members but not to collective bargaining. The exact position of APT's claims at South Bank and Polytechnic of Central London remains in doubt, with NATFHE suggesting they have been withdrawn.

A claim at Hatfield is still being considered, while representations at Kingston have apparently been turned down by the local authority. The involvement of ACAS in the APT's claim at Teesside changed the local position.

David Jobbins reports on the APT's tortuous battle for recognition at the UK's 31 polytechnics

pool, and says it is not aware of any activity at Teesside or Wales, where APT says ACAS has become involved.

APT members complain that their polytechnic salaries and conditions are negotiated for them by a union with 95 per cent of its members in the colleges. They argue that NATFHE's negotiating strategy has been directed at improving pay and conditions for the lower levels of the public sector, and that the minority of lecturers doing advanced work in the polytechnics have seriously lost out.

Instead they look towards the universities as their natural pay and conditions comparators, and have pay parity within a limited time span as a main aim.

A further aim is to be non-ideological and non-political and leaders claim an upsurge of interest after decisions at NATFHE conferences which are seen to be "non-industrial".

It has written into its constitution total opposition to the closed shop, and its leaders constantly "also this spectrum when discussing NATFHE's aims".

Other benefits put forward by APT as a recruiting gambit are its tax-deductible £12 a year subscription and insurance cover, compared with NATFHE's £24 a year.

There is no doubt that staff are attracted to APT because of its concentration in the polytechnics. Some are Labour Party members who might find NATFHE ideologically more attractive but regard the APT's polytechnic base as preferable.

There is also a small but nevertheless significant proportion of professional staff who hedge their bets by belonging to both. Surveys carried out by ACAS during recognition procedures indicated that this might range between two and seven per cent.

APT's earlier attempts at securing recognition were made under Section Eleven of the Employment Protection Act. This laid down a statutory procedure for pursuing claims.

From its small beginnings at Portsmouth Polytechnic, it was no surprise that APT's first attempt at invoking ACAS was to secure recognition from Hampshire County Council. ACAS reported last year after a ballot of staff in consultations revealed opposition to recognition from the authority, NATFHE, and a number of smaller unions.

While a majority of full time staff who replied to the ACAS questionnaire expressed a preference for APT representation, ACAS itself felt it should balance their wishes against a number of other factors including the employment policies desired by management, and the existing negotiating procedures.

It decided that the desirability of broad national similarity would be frustrated by introducing APT into the local bargaining procedures, and therefore no recommendation was made.

The education authority advised the polytechnic governing body that recognition might be accorded, but the governing body took no decision at its meeting in September except to ask the polytechnic to consider carefully the implications of

making such a decision. As a result, early in December the governing body voted to give APT local recognition. The effects of this decision has yet to be seen.

In addition to the other two cases where Section Eleven was invoked—at North London and Lancaster—did ACAS make a recommendation for recognition.

This was despite the evidence that at Lancaster more than half the full-time staff voted for APT recognition, against 41 per cent for NATFHE. At PNL the APT claim was decisively rejected in the ballot, with only 32 per cent favouring the union as against 56 per cent of full-time staff preferring to stay with NATFHE.

APT's earlier attempts at securing recognition through Section Eleven have been replaced by an increased reliance on applications under Section Two of the same Act, which empowers ACAS's conciliatory role, and involves local negotiations rather than involvement of national institutions.

It is ironic that Section Eleven should be repealed by a Conservative Government for it might have been considered the union's greatest potential ally in securing recognition of all its staff.

APT's claim of 3,500 members bears further examination. This figure is the figure quoted in its public relations almost since its inception, when it said it was well on the way to 5,000 members.

But according to the return made of its membership and subscription income as of December 31, 1978, it had only 2,972 members, only 325 of them women. Even this figure bears more careful examination, for the subscription income totalled £21,112 when the annual subscription was £10.

NATFHE is distinguished from APT in admitting administrative and support staff to its ranks in contrast with the aggressively academic staff-only policy followed by NATFHE.

It is undeniable that APT has made its views on many higher education topics clear in discussions with DES officials and latterly with Ministers. But as is obvious from the remarks made by Mr. Carlisle this is a long way away from recognition at national level.

What has been done is to link itself with the Managerial, Professional and Staff Liaison Group, which it says represents 500,000 workers in organizations including the British Medical Association, and the British Dental Association, which is aspiring to consultations with the Government in parallel with the TUC and CBI.

The major hopes APT can extend for the future are a reconstitution of the Burnham Committee, and access to the new body to discuss conditions of employment on a national scale. But informed opinion suggests that if Burnham is reconstituted the impact will fall on primary and secondary schools.

If this is the case, the only "fringe" union which under the present political climate stands much chance is the Professional Association of Teachers, the anti-state schoolteachers' union.

Despite all the obscurities, APT is far from moribund. It operates on a skeleton staff from a Victorian mansion at a house nicknamed "Dracula's Castle" in the Southsea seaside resort suburb of Portsmouth. There is more than enough work in the shape of inquiries and requests for help to indicate that its members at least feel it does a worthwhile job.

Leader, page 23

Science board policies have not always worked out as intended. Science Correspondent Robin McKie reports

Research council researched

In the late 1960s, Britain's science community was faced with a rapidly growing crisis in attempting to cope with the nation's deteriorating economic problems. In the case of its major funding institution, the Science Research Council, this was compounded by increasing pressures for it to promote much more work oriented towards the national need.

These factors induced two major changes in the SRC's policy towards directing the course of basic research in the country. Firstly, the council abandoned its traditional role as a passive supplier of funds and specifically promoted projects in areas of "national interest".

This resulted in a policy reorganisation which included moves to:

- Enhance engineering research support;
- Give priority funding to general science;
- Move funds away from United Kingdom nuclear physics programmes;

The second policy change brought about a decision to concentrate dwindling funds with only the most able scientists. Fringe activities involving small grants would be axed to ensure the most important research projects—being carried out by the most able—were not sacrificed.

This policy redirection was coupled with some internal SRC structural alterations including the creation of separate engineering and science boards which replaced the university science and technology board. In particular, the first of these two new boards was to assist in promoting priority funding for engineering research.

In the ten years which covered these changes, more than 12,000 grants were awarded to university researchers—involving £120m expenditure on equipment, technician salaries and research assistant wages.

Given this level of cash involvement, it is then crucial to know if these changes in SRC operations reflect the stated aims of the council's policy-makers. To resolve this, a research programme was launched by the Department of Liberal Studies in Science at Manchester University and carried out by Dr. Chumner Parina and Professor Michael Gibbons.

As the basis for the two-year project, the entire grants commitment of the SRC was determined for the 1964-65 period and grants-per-month were calculated for individuals, departments and universities.

The results revealed were surprising and alarming. For instance, it was found that the proportion of SRC resources allocated by the nuclear physics board actually increased, despite the stated aim for it to decline.

"Although there is considerable fluctuation in the change of proportions, the overall trend has been upwards. In general, commitments have grown from 19 per cent of total SRC commitment in 1964-65 to 23 per cent in 1973-74," the researchers report states.

And the report adds: "Equally striking is the decline in the fortunes of the science board's commitments." Grants declined from 41 per cent of the 1964-65 SRC total allocation to universities to 30 per cent in 1973-74.

And while the astronomy, space and radio board's finances revealed little change over the 10-year period, there were several complicated movements in the finances of the remaining SRC board—the engineering board.

In 1969-70, when the engineering board was created, its allocation of funding rose to 35 per cent. This compared with 6 per cent of the total SRC, but which was given in

grants by the engineering committee of the previous year.

"This rise was followed by a further increase in the next year, but from that date commitments declined so that in 1973-74 level was approximately the same as in 1964-65," the report states.

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Leader, page 23

Ruthless dictator or prisoner of coercion?

One hundred years ago, on December 21, 1879, Joseph Stalin was born in the small Georgian town of Gori, in a remote part of the Russian Empire. By the time of the 1917 Revolution, he had been an active member of the Bolshevik revolutionary underground for many years, and already belonged to the party central committee. The son of a cobbler, at this time he was almost the only top party leader who had risen from the lower depths of tsarist society.

In 1917, he was not yet well known. One witness later described him as a "grey blur", and to Trotsky he always seemed a mediocrity, at best an "outstanding mediocrity". But he proved an efficient organiser during the turmoil of the Civil War, and in 1922 he was appointed general secretary of the party. From this base he rapidly rose to supreme power. Less than six years after the death of Lenin, Stalin's fiftieth birthday was celebrated in December, 1929, with greater homage than had ever been displayed to Lenin in his lifetime.

Before the end of 1929, Stalin's "socialist offensive" in the drive for rapid industrialization and the forced collectivization of peasant agriculture, had already been launched. This was a drastic change in policy. Throughout most of the 1920s, state industry had been linked with small-scale peasant agriculture through the market.

Until the "socialist offensive" everyone in the Soviet leadership believed or said they believed, that socialism in the countryside must be introduced gradually and without coercion. Now tens of millions of peasants were coaxed and bullied into joining collective farms, and compulsory deliveries of their products replaced voluntary sales on the market.

During the 1930s, Stalin dominated the triumphs of industrialization and the horrors of famine and purges as the master-builder of modern Russia. By the end of the decade no one dared to question his authority. In 1941-45 he was supreme commander in the bitter struggle against the German invasion. To most Russians, his victory over Germany was the greatest triumph of his lifetime. Since Khrushchev's passionate denunciation of him at the Communist Party congress, and most of his innumerable busts and portraits have been removed from public places. This onslaught, tarnished, but did not destroy, the image of Stalin created during his lifetime. Since Khrushchev's own fall in 1964, the image of Stalin in the Soviet press has been uncertain and wavering.

In the West the image of Stalin has also undergone dramatic changes. During the second world war, he was favourably publicized and even in the United States, as our benign and steadfast ally Uncle Joe. British servicemen wistfully imagined a democratic Stalinist imagined a democratic Stalinist imagined a democratic Stalinist.

But in the years of cold war Stalin was soon transformed by the right-wing press into the principal villain (sometimes with the mental qualification that perhaps Molotov or Vyshinsky were the real ringleaders). And after his death, with the unceasing flow of revelations about his monstrous activities, he left also became eager to repudiate the atrocities Stalin carried out in the name of socialism. For over twenty years, he has been the object of universal condemnation (Maoists and Albanians excepted).

Many shifts in attitudes to Stalin have also taken place among Western experts on the Soviet Union, who are not unaffected by the changing political atmosphere outside the seminar room.

Twenty years ago, almost all historians agreed that Stalin was in some sense the natural heir to Lenin. The prevailing school of thought held that ever since 1917 Soviet Russia had been in the hands of a lawless regime, in power against the wishes of the people. Stalin's policies were a manifestation of his arbitrary power. Thus Professor Leonard Schapiro wrote on the subject of Stalin's industrialization drive: "I see no valid reason for assuming that it had to take place at the time and in the manner which Stalin was determined to follow. Other than the reason that Stalin so determined it and was able to put his determination into effect."

This explanation did not satisfy Marxists, or economists of all shades of political opinion. Most of them agreed that Stalin was the natural heir to Lenin. But they argued that his policy of forcible industrialization was not arbitrary. It was rather a more or less inevitable response to the profound economic crisis which the Soviet Union had inherited in the late 1920s. The egalitarian society established after the revolution lacked sources of savings for investment in industry.

Isolated in a hostile capitalist world, the Soviet government could not emulate the loans and borrow from abroad. As soon as industrialization got under way, inflation and shortages developed. The peasants refused to sell their grain, so the towns could not be fed. The state's means of coercion of the peasantry and a retreat from industrialisation. On this view Stalinist policy was essentially impersonal in character.

The notion that Stalin was the natural heir to Lenin is now much less popular among historians, largely owing to the research of an impressive international quartet: Roy Medvedev, the dissident Soviet Marxist; Moshe Lewin, the historian of the peasantry; Robert Tucker, the biographer of Stalin; and Stephen Cohen, biographer of Bukharin (the principal opponent of coercion of the peasantry in 1928-29).

According to these historians, the Bolshevik party of Lenin—with its lively debates and its vigorous political life—was not merely a mild preliminary version of the monolithic party of Stalin. And Stalin's emergence to supreme power was not an automatic consequence of the Bolshevik revolution and Leninist ideology, or of economic necessity. The 1920s was a period of a struggle of trends within the party, and the victory of Stalin was the victory of one trend in Bolshevik politics.

Tucker and Medvedev further argue that the coercive policies pursued during the "socialist offensive" and after were a result of Stalin's personal influence. Medvedev categorises the victory of Stalin as "an historical accident". Tucker and Medvedev thus outdo Leonard Schapiro in the importance they attach to Stalin's personality, for they hold that under vigorous leadership the Soviet system of the 1930s and 1940s would have been substantially different.

Before reaching this conclusion, these historians attempted to assess the extent to which economic, social and political pressures dictated the coercive policies adopted at the end of the 1920s. Their broad conclusion was that the alternative of continuing the non-coercive market economy could have provided a feasible strategy for socialisation and modernisation.

These recent studies are not without their weaknesses. Most of them, in my opinion, underestimate the extent to which the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, and the drive for invasion, imparted a sense of urgency to industrialisation plans. And their stress on the role of Stalin's personality at the end of the 1920s may underestimate the influence in the party, and on Stalin, of those party members who eagerly supported him.

These included some enthusiastic Marxist intellectuals and, more significantly, many communists at lower levels in the party. The latter were then with limited formal

R. W. Davies reassesses Stalin on the centenary of his birth

Ruthless dictator or prisoner of coercion?

education, and no knowledge of market economics, who, like Stalin, grew up as victims of poverty and oppression in the tsarist empire. Their previous experience of crisis was acquired in the cruel class battles of civil war.

Moreover, the Bolshevik party as a whole was an urban party. Most of its members had little understanding of peasant ways of life. Inspired by the hopes for a radical transformation of society which are inherent in revolutionary Marxism, many of them welcomed Stalin's "socialist offensive" of 1929-30 as the only possible solution to Soviet difficulties.

All these factors encouraged the break with the more moderate policies of the mid-1920s. Not only Stalin, but all his close associates, supported coercion of the peasants in the interests of industrialisation. But aspects of the "socialist offensive" were doubtless stamped with Stalin's personality. Stephen Cohen suggests that in the absence of Stalin the other members of his group would not have sanctioned the extremes of forced collectivisation and political terror. This is an interesting speculation, which deserves further investigation.

Until a few years ago, historians believed that Stalin was the natural heir to Lenin. But they argued that his policy of forcible industrialization was not arbitrary. It was rather a more or less inevitable response to the profound economic crisis which the Soviet Union had inherited in the late 1920s. The egalitarian society established after the revolution lacked sources of savings for investment in industry.

Isolated in a hostile capitalist world, the Soviet government could not emulate the loans and borrow from abroad. As soon as industrialization got under way, inflation and shortages developed. The peasants refused to sell their grain, so the towns could not be fed. The state's means of coercion of the peasantry and a retreat from industrialisation. On this view Stalinist policy was essentially impersonal in character.

The notion that Stalin was the natural heir to Lenin is now much less popular among historians, largely owing to the research of an impressive international quartet: Roy Medvedev, the dissident Soviet Marxist; Moshe Lewin, the historian of the peasantry; Robert Tucker, the biographer of Stalin; and Stephen Cohen, biographer of Bukharin (the principal opponent of coercion of the peasantry in 1928-29).

According to these historians, the Bolshevik party of Lenin—with its lively debates and its vigorous political life—was not merely a mild preliminary version of the monolithic party of Stalin. And Stalin's emergence to supreme power was not an automatic consequence of the Bolshevik revolution and Leninist ideology, or of economic necessity. The 1920s was a period of a struggle of trends within the party, and the victory of Stalin was the victory of one trend in Bolshevik politics.

Tucker and Medvedev further argue that the coercive policies pursued during the "socialist offensive" and after were a result of Stalin's personal influence. Medvedev categorises the victory of Stalin as "an historical accident". Tucker and Medvedev thus outdo Leonard Schapiro in the importance they attach to Stalin's personality, for they hold that under vigorous leadership the Soviet system of the 1930s and 1940s would have been substantially different.

Before reaching this conclusion, these historians attempted to assess the extent to which economic, social and political pressures dictated the coercive policies adopted at the end of the 1920s. Their broad conclusion was that the alternative of continuing the non-coercive market economy could have provided a feasible strategy for socialisation and modernisation.

These recent studies are not without their weaknesses. Most of them, in my opinion, underestimate the extent to which the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, and the drive for invasion, imparted a sense of urgency to industrialisation plans. And their stress on the role of Stalin's personality at the end of the 1920s may underestimate the influence in the party, and on Stalin, of those party members who eagerly supported him.

These included some enthusiastic Marxist intellectuals and, more significantly, many communists at lower levels in the party. The latter were then with limited formal

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Stalin at the height of his power and popularity

This may be illustrated by the process of economic policy-making, on which much evidence is now available from those who worked directly under Stalin. Throughout the 1930s, most major and some minor decisions were made at meetings of the Politburo, or subcommittee of the Politburo, attended by high government officials, scientists and others competent in the issues under discussion.

Stalin's decision was final in economic as well as in police matters. But classing opinions were expressed at meetings about economic policy, reflecting the interests or approaches of different government departments and different groups of specialists. Stalin was sometimes impossible to undertake detailed research about the operation of the Soviet system in Stalin's years of supreme power—the 1930s and 1940s. In any case, the mechanism of the Stalinist system was generally believed to be quite simple. It was described in Wlad Rostow's *Dynamics of Soviet Power* (1954), which was used for many years as a textbook on communism by American officials. According to Rostow, the mainspring of the Communist system was that the top Soviet leaders, including Stalin, sought to "main- by means of their own power".

In a remarkable passage written in 1957, Robert Tucker—then less sophisticated than in his recent writings—described Stalin's system of government as "a system of terror, the entire massive machinery of Soviet rule over nearly 300,000,000 human beings on one-third of the earth's surface (i.e. including China and Russia) was operated". By manipulating the levers of the control panel, Stalin could play politics as though on a piano, touching a key here and a chord there.

Recent studies of Stalin in power do not modify the view that he was a ruthless personal dictator, who held the power of final decision on every aspect of Soviet politics, maintaining this power with the aid of coercion and terror. Stalin's predilection for coercion is obvious even from his published writings; and a mass of evidence from those who had direct dealings with him has described both his paranoid behaviour, and the unscrupulous cynicism with which he got rid of those who seemed to stand in his way.

But Stalin was also to some extent a prisoner of the apparatus of coercion. He appointed Beria as police chief, but was manipulated by Beria for his own purposes. He encouraged a vast system of censorship, and was then unable to learn the truth about Soviet society.

Moreover, control of the apparatus of coercion was only one important part of Stalin's political activity. Most of his working life was concerned with the economy and the administrative agencies which controlled it, with the defence sector, and with foreign affairs. While he held the ultimate power of decision in all these activities leading officials and administrative agencies were not merely his puppets.

Stalinist theory was oversimplified, even crude. But it was carefully thought out, and provided a comprehensive world outlook which effectively combined a quasi-Marxist class analysis with an appeal to Russian pride. This helps to explain why the doctrines which he promoted are still influential in

the Soviet Union a quarter of a century after his death.

Stalin's doctrinal statements were partly concerned with providing a Marxist framework to justify coercion. But he also took care to insist on the popular basis of the Soviet system. In 1935 he told young army officers that "human beings are the most valuable and decisive capital of all the valuable capital in the world". In 1937 at the height of the purges, he confidently reminded an audience of leading metalworkers that "leaders come and go, and the people remain—only the people are immortal".

The popular or demagogic features of his doctrines were reflected in the trouble he took, until the last years of his life, to display concern for ordinary people. During industrialization, large numbers of ordinary Russians were educated and rapidly promoted to responsible positions. New social groups were created, loyal to the Soviet system and to Stalin. All this and his reputation as a war leader, may account for the affection for Stalin which is still spontaneously expressed by some Soviet citizens. (Moscow cinema audiences still sometimes burst into applause when he appears on the screen).

Stalin also saw himself as a great innovator in the field of the human sciences. He praised scientists who "boldly and decisively smash old outdated traditions, norms and approaches". In practice he frequently supported new proposals by technicians and others against the opposition of senior administrative officials. Often, alas, as in the case of Lysenko, the grounds for his support were wholly inadequate; he encouraged pseudo-science, and destroyed science by force.

Stalin's years in supreme office demonstrated that there are limitations on the influence of even the most powerful dictator. In 1950s, he successfully pressed forward a vast modern industry, but could not overcome the passive resistance of the peasants; they had to be allowed personal plots of land to supplement the starvation level of collective production. In the 1940s, in spite of his valiant efforts to encourage innovation, the technological conservatism of the system proved more powerful than Stalin.

Leaders come and go. They are outlived and outsmarted not only by the ordinary people, but also by the bureaucratic structures which the leaders themselves help to create.

The author, a professor at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, is the author of a forthcoming series, *The Industrialisation of Soviet Russia, the first two volumes of which deal with the collectivization of agriculture. (Macmillan, 1980.)*

A campus decolonized? The urgent question

While the Rhodesian political system is presently undergoing a process of decolonization, the University of Rhodesia is poised towards a similar process following the voluntary retirement of Professor Robert Craig as from January, 1980. The sudden decision by Professor Craig to vacate the office of principalship, has occasioned an unprecedented succession problem.

This "crisis" has been heightened by the existence of a multiplicity of competing interest groups, both within and without the University. Above all, the pending constitutional settlement leading to the granting of legal independence to Zimbabwe will further complicate matters for those responsible for the search for a successor.

In the quest for a new principal a number of factors have to be considered. For example, will the new principal be black or white? Will he be an "insider" who has prior knowledge of university politics and administration or an "outsider" who has international connections and may be above any existing partisan loyalties? In addition, in the light of the current political situation in the country, will the selection board opt for a stop-gap principal pending final resolution with the normalization of the political situation? These questions and other related issues are central to our analysis.

An essential aspect of the understanding of the problems surrounding the ultimate choice of a principal and vice-chancellor of the University of Rhodesia is an examination of the nature of the political system in which the university is placed. It is not possible here to provide all the historical antecedents which have some bearing on the selection of a new university head.

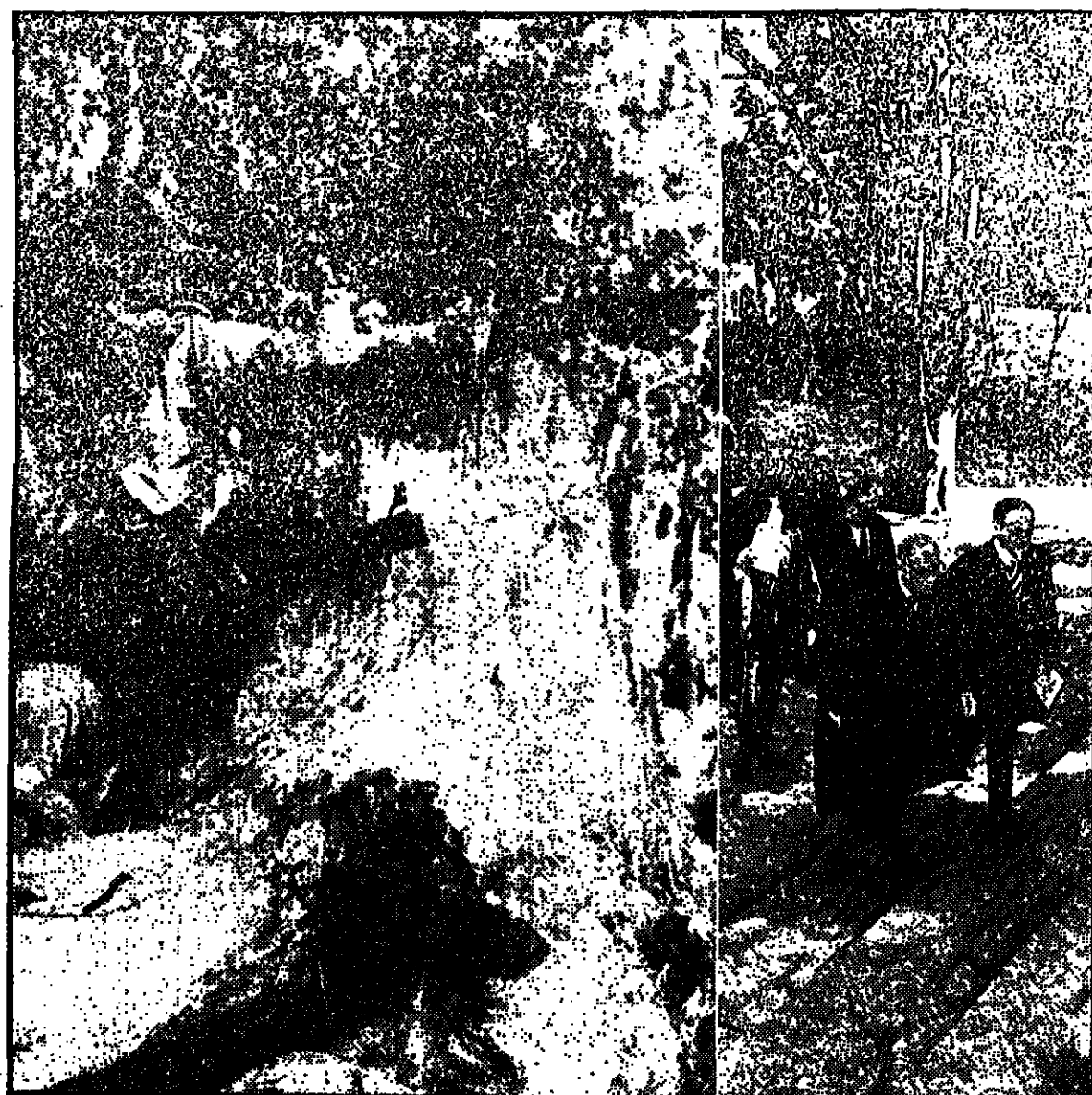
Since the signing of the Lancaster House proposals in 1967, an air of transition has been pervading the Rhodesian political environment. In particular, this was reflected in the Rhodesian Front's concerted efforts to find ways and means of Africanising existing structures, without any fundamental changes. After several attempts to achieve this goal on the 3rd March, 1978 the Rhodesian Front government finally reached an agreement with the internal African leaders comprising Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, James Chikema, and Senators Ndweni and Chirau.

The changes in the political system are bound to have wider repercussions on the university.

However, as is well known, this "internal settlement" failed to legitimize itself internationally and to stop the war that has been raging in the country since 1965. As a result, a new international initiative was launched in Lusaka in August, 1979, enjoining Britain, as the legitimate colonizing power, to convene a decolonization conference involving all the parties to the conflict. Notwithstanding the seeming abstract nature of the negotiations, and the apparent divergent political positions of the participants, it is widely believed by observers and analysts alike that the current Lancaster House Conference will bring about a final solution to the Rhodesian problem.

The changes in the political system are bound to have wider repercussions on the university. In other words, once the wider political framework has been set, the changes in the local scene for the University (as a microcosm of the wider society) to follow suit. In this context, the final choice of a new principal for the University of Rhodesia will have to take cognizance of the political changes and to anticipate any kaleidoscopic political developments.

Changes in the Rhodesian political environment were accompanied by some internal developments within the university over the past few years. Particularly noteworthy changes in the university's staff composition, its curriculum, and its administrative structure, have been the subject of a recent study by the author.



Pointers of life in Rhodesia. Left, a lone guerilla on the Mozambique border; and, right, a white-dominated graduation parade at the University.

Who will become the new principal after the resignation of Professor Robert Craig? Will he be black or white, an insider or an outsider? N. T. Chideya and M. J. M. Sibanda describe the pressures facing the university, and speculate on the next appointment.

intake since 1976. This trend is reflected in the accompanying table.

Year	European	African	Coloured	Total
1975	707	561	93	1361
1976	665	727	113	1505
1977	412	958	120	2130
1978	915	1266	121	2303
1979	697	1128*	106	1931

* Figures Depressed by African male call-ups to military service.

The increase in African student population at the University of Rhodesia over the past few years was "not reflective of any change in university admission policies but rather of the progressively enlarged output of the black secondary school system at the Form VI level". In addition, the growth of African enrolment since 1976 should be linked with the call-up of European males to military service. The fact that the student population of the University of Rhodesia is progressively being Africanized points to the need of restructuring the university top management. Another important development has been the gradual Africanization of university staff. Table 2 shows the racial composition of the university staff as from May, 1979.

Year	European	African	Coloured	Total
1976	223	19	24	246
1977	200	29	250	479
1978	230	54	265	549
1979	204	54	249	507

Source: Statistical Reports from Registry, U.R.

It is interesting to note that among the African members of staff, only four hold very senior posts. One of these is the first African to be appointed professor and head of a department.

The gradual Africanization of the university staff, is a result of many factors. In the first place, this trend was a response to the deteriorating security situation inside the country since 1976. This factor made it increasingly difficult for the university to recruit European staff from abroad. At the same time, some Europeans already employed at the university withdrew their services once the call-up system was introduced in 1976 (see Table 2). In the second place, there was pressure from a few university staff members and other interested parties to gradually pursue a policy of localization. This move was partly in anticipation of pending political changes since the Geneva Conference.

Alan Phillips, general secretary of the World University Service (a major funding body for Africanization of U.R.) after a short visit to Salisbury in 1975, underlined the need to Africanize in these terms:

"There are over 200 full-time teaching staff employed by the university, of whom about 30 are African. There are 36 senior administrative staff of whom only 10 are African. This is one area in which serious criticism could be levelled at both the university and the government, and the university as a whole."

Not surprisingly, by 1977 the gradual

Africanization of the university staff had become an accepted policy of the university. We shall come back to this point later in our analysis. Finally, pressure from local African members of staff was partly instrumental in the Africanization of some university posts since 1978. Again this will be shown later in the discussion. The so-called "Black Caucus Manifesto" drawn up by 22 of the 31 black members of staff in February, 1978, demanded an urgent Africanization of university structures. After all, the document cried, the gradual Africanization policy from the bottom, noting:

"There are many qualified Africans both here and abroad who are willing to take up senior positions in the university. The problem is not one of shortage of manpower, but of racial discrimination. As will be demonstrated in a later section, the document provoked a heated debate in the press, the university and in political circles. However, notwithstanding the criticism, the sentiments expressed by the signatories of the manifesto cannot be ignored in the present search for a university principal (particularly in view of the possibility of the advent of majority rule).

While there were some noticeable changes in university staffing and student intake, key sectors of the university structure have continued to remain in European hands. Thus the governing council of the university, since its restructuring in May, 1970, still reflects a white-dominated Rhodesian character. Only a total of 33 members, only 3 are African. This state of affairs will no doubt determine to a large extent the 1980-81 character of

the principal to be ultimately selected.

Having provided a general view of the factors surrounding the search for a new principal of the University of Rhodesia, it is pertinent for us to examine in detail the various pressures facing a university head, and how his principal have tried to cope with some of these pressures.

Key in his classic study, *Use of the University*, makes a point that the university principal is a many-faceted character in a sense that he must face in many directions at once, while continuing to turn his back on no important group. He goes on to illustrate this in the following vein:

"The university principal (or principal) is expected to be a member of the students; a member of the faculty; a good fellow of the alumni; a sound administrator; a good husband and father; a public; an astute bargainer with the government; a friend of industry; a member of the community; a persuasive diplomat; a champion of education generally; a supporter of the professions."

A university principal is faced with a multiplicity of roles, most of which are contradictory.

a spokesman to the press; a scholar in his own right; a public servant at the national level; a devotee of opera and football; a decent human being; a good husband and father; a member of the community. Above all, he must be a man of integrity, a man of high moral standards, a man of high public esteem.

From this quotation it is clear that a university principal is faced with a multiplicity of roles, most of which are contradictory. It is difficult, especially for the university organization viewed from a political perspective, which holds that conflict is at the core of its inner workings, to modern university life by no means a monolithic entity. It is made up of interest groups and subgroups, formal and informal, internal and external to the organization, attempting to influence the institution's policy decisions. These groups and subgroups often conflict with each other, and the setting up of courses, admission policy, staff policy, etc. At the very least, this inter-group conflict is a principal, who is entrusted with the most unenviable task of maintaining the equilibrium of the institution.

The above theoretical aspects of a principal's role is equally applicable to the Rhodesian situation. As pointed out earlier, the history of the University of Rhodesia is the history of the Rhodesian Front's policy of Africanization, for indeed the university is only part of the larger society. However, it is not our concern to get into a detailed discussion of the history of the university, but we will discuss at length the pressures which prevailed on the principal of the University of Rhodesia, including the principalship of Reverend Professor Robert Craig.

The university began in 1952 as the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by the instrument of the Royal Charter to the Rhodesian Government. With the demise of the Federation in 1963 and the declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government in 1965, the University College became the University of Rhodesia. It was then that the University began to discern pending changes in the wider society reflected within the university by the increasing numbers of black students (see Table 1), and the growing social and racial tensions in the country. This awareness culminated in the publication in July, 1977 by Professor Craig of the landmark document, entitled *The University and Constitutional Change*.

In his introduction to the document, Craig wrote that:

"It requires no great degree of political prescience to observe that Rhodesia is now on the brink of political and social changes which must have a radical impact on the university. While those of us to whom the gifts of prophecy and of political power have been denied will be unable to discern or to determine 'the shape of things to come', the prospect of political and social settlement for the country justified a certain amount of reasonable supposition."

of succession at the University of Rhodesia

from page 10

university were constantly faced with a seemingly perennial problem of keeping the "non-racial island" viable. For as pointed out by Harris, "the University College had become an anachronism simply because its origin reflected a society which was no longer there or even perhaps untenable". It was simply an unacceptable phenomenon in a racist Rhodesian society.

However, in a sense the term "non-racial" is misleading in as far as it gives the impression that were it not for the hostile attitude of the RF Government, it would be well within the university. As already stated, a university being a social institution has to reflect the social ethos of the larger society. The struggles, attitudes, fears and animosities in the larger Rhodesian society were indeed reflected on the university campus. The clashes between black and white students, for instance, represented as it were "struggles within struggles". One example of such clashes culminated in or at least contributed to the unceremonious resignation in 1967 of Walter Adams, the founding principal of the University College.

Terence Miller, the second principal (1967-August 1969) faced the pressures prevailing on his administration as follows: the racist Rhodesian government, the strong RF component within the university council, the white Rhodesian students who supported the government, the black students who opposed the government, the college staff which was split into supporters of the government, the neutrals and the liberal, and above all, the university world outside Rhodesia. A believer in absolute university autonomy and academic freedom, Miller's principalship was characterized by this confrontationalist approach which on the whole, tended to ignore the realities of the times.

Such a stance failed to appreciate the problem of academic freedom in a state which was controlled by Emergency Powers, that university autonomy is of necessity parochial and relative, and that the alternatives for the survival of the university were "extinction or dysfunctionism". In the end, Miller was forced to resign in 1969 soon after the Rhodesian Front had voted to declare Rhodesia a republic.

Confrontation with the RF Government would have meant the extinction of the university.

Robert Craig inherited the same problems and pressures faced by his predecessors. But for his *modus operandi*, he did not adopt the Miller approach. Instead, he pursued a low-key policy based on the "don't rock the boat" stance. In the circumstances of the time, perhaps he had no choice but to "keep the boat afloat". Any confrontation with the RF Government would have meant the "extinction" of the university. To a large extent, his principalship can be characterized as that of a consensus seeker, a man who initially tended to rely on conservative advisers more interested in the maintenance of the status quo than fundamental change. Indeed his advisers were believers in the saying attributed to the Scottish Presbyterian minister, who, when confronted with a problem said:

"Here beathron is a very fundamental difficulty; let us look it squarely in the face and move on."

But since 1976 Robert Craig gradually started to rely on advisers who were more forward-looking. It can be said that at this time he began to discern pending changes in the wider society reflected within the university by the increasing numbers of black students (see Table 1), and the growing social and racial tensions in the country. This awareness culminated in the publication in July, 1977 by Professor Craig of the landmark document, entitled *The University and Constitutional Change*.

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He argued that it was time for "reasonable provisions for the future to be made on the assumption that the relationship between the university of the present and that of the future is dialectical, that continuity and discontinuity, conservatism and radical change will be combined. He further pointed out that the university had two stark alternatives, either to maintain the *status quo* or to restructure completely, possibly the political appointments to key posts and adoption of "O" level entry qualifications.



The first three principals of the University of Rhodesia, in order of tenure: Sir Walter Adams, Mr Terence Miller and Professor Robert Craig.

Craig rejected both scenarios and offered what he termed "an intermediate model" or some variation of it in which, among other things:

"A policy of vigorous Africanization and localization would be pursued at least with respect to new permanent posts."

In practice, such a policy would entail the localization of posts from the level of teaching assistants upwards. It is important to note here that the actualization of the pronouncement, Professor Craig took the initiative to make arrangements with the British Ministry of Overseas Development for training programmes for citizen staff in the United Kingdom. A few African staff have already participated in these programmes.

What is important for our purposes is to delineate the various reactions to the principal's document, as this underlines the existing conflicting interests. A heated debate on campus followed over the inclusion of the term "Africanization". Indeed, the principal was forced to concede this point and the term "Africanization" was removed from the paper. "Localization" was used to mean that preference should be given to Rhodesians (black or white) whenever appointments were made. "Africanization" on the other hand, had sought to pursue a policy of deracialization until some semblance of balance between the black-white ratio had been achieved.

Apart from this, there were also other reactions. The black members of staff, although not formally asked to respond to the principal's document, decided to submit a response which came to be known as the "Black Caucus Manifesto". It called for the immediate Africanization of curricula, administrative and teaching staff. It took issue with the principal's policy of localization of posts from the bottom, arguing that:

(3) In order to effect a policy of a complete restructuring and reorientation of the university, it is essential that many senior positions be Africanized without delay. We know from experience and from personal knowledge of the persons now in senior positions that many of them would resist change. Therefore, if no changes are made at the top many of the recommendations both in the principal's paper and in our paper will never be implemented."

The manifesto was submitted to the principal in February 1978 and copies were sent to all heads of departments. Somewhat, a copy of the manifesto found its way to the *Sunday Mail* of Rhodesia, which in a bold print headline announced that "African Teachers Seek Immediate Take-Over of University Jobs". In its report, the paper stated that the university non-African teachers were extremely concerned about the Africanization proposals and that they would call

for a referendum on the issue.

It is now time to examine the circumstances of the sudden voluntary retirement of Professor Robert Craig as Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Rhodesia, and how this has created problems for the search committee. On the 11th July 1979 the Principal announced that he was retiring from the position he had held since 1969. He stated that the move was prompted by personal reasons and not by any external pressures. Naturally, the sudden decision raises a great deal of speculation, particularly given the fact that the Principal had three more years of service before the mandatory retirement age of 65. One possibility is that the Principal may have decided to leave with honour, especially at a time when he had succeeded to build a measure of confidence among blacks and whites alike within the university, and indeed in the wider Rhodesian society.

As one informant pointed out, it was politically wise for him to leave when he was sitting on his laurels. At this point, the Principal chose to retire voluntarily rather than waiting "to be fired". On the other hand, the Principal's move may have been motivated by the changing political environment already alluded to. In other words, he may have wanted to give the powers-that-be a free hand to choose his successor.

A marked increase in the number of black staff on campus soon after the manifesto.

The reaction within Rhodesian society was varied. The majority of white Rhodesians through the local press castigated the paper as being "blatantly racist" and even went to the extent of challenging the black staff members to show moral superiority. Spokesman of internal African political parties (which had signed the March 3rd Agreement) reassured the Rhodesian public that there would never be Africanization for the sake of Africanization. The only favourable response came from the black-orientated press, *The Zimbabwe Times*.

Commenting on the controversy provoked by the "Black Caucus Manifesto", the Principal of the University of Rhodesia had this to say:

"It is inevitable, that sooner or later, the university staff from top to bottom, will consist predominantly of Africans. This is a fact of arithmetic and not of politics, given the population statistics of the country. The same is true of student members in the university. I have always taken it to be one of the main functions of the university to prepare and to provide for this objective."

The varied responses to the manifesto do emphasize to a large degree, the congeries of conflicting interests that make up the sum total of the university, and the larger society in which it operates. The "Black Caucus Manifesto" has on the running and administration of the university? This question is difficult to answer in a precise manner. But it is important to note that there

was a marked increase in the number of black staff on campus soon after the publication of the manifesto (see Table 2).

A number of the black staff found themselves appointed to acting headships of departments and one was elected dean of a faculty. Three blacks were appointed to administrative posts. Several black lecturers were promoted to senior lectureships. Notably, the University appointed its first black Professor—G. L. Chavunduka. According to Professor Craig, the failure to appoint more Africans to professorships was due to the fact that there were no African applicants for the vacant chairs which had been advertised. All these appointments and promotions were "a new phenomenon" at the university and represented a major shift in university policy. Perhaps it can be alleged that the spirit and intent of Clause 4 of the University Charter were now being implemented in earnest (Clause 4 emphasized the non-racial aspect of the university).

The search committee, which was appointed as an *ad hoc* body, is faced with a formidable task of finding a successor to Robert Craig. This search is taking place at a time when the whole social fabric is undergoing profound changes on the political front. From the outset, the committee is thus operating within a climate of future political uncertainties. It has to decide on whether the university will need another Miller or another Craig, a confrontationalist or a middle-of-the-road, or a government functionary, an insider who knows all the ropes or an outsider with international contacts. Perhaps, in view of the uncertainties of the future, should the committee appoint a temporary "stop-gap" Principal pending final reselection with the normalization of the political situation? Whatever the decision of the search committee the new Principal will inherit a complex set of problems. He will have to make do with existing university structures and their incumbents. For example, he will have to contend with the dominant Council and Senate. At the same time, the new Principal will have to contend with the rising tide of expectations following the granting of legal independence.

The crux of the matter is whether the new principal is going to be black or white.

So what kind of Principal should be appointed? Chavunduka has pointed out that the new Principal should have proven leadership qualities. On the other hand, Muzorewa stressed that he should seek to balance leadership qualities with those of a consensus seeker. Patel emphasized that the new university head should be a man capable of retaining academic excellence and university autonomy.

But the crux of the matter is whether the new principal is going to be black or white. Existing pressures point to the fact that he has to be black. Let us explain briefly some of these pressures. It has to be noted that the principalship of the only university in this country is indeed a high post. Whoever is appointed has to be in a position to command the respect of the powers-that-be. As Rhodesia gains political independence, it will become imperative for the new black rulers to demonstrate that they are in full control, and this includes the running of the university. Within such circumstances, "Africanization" becomes a necessity. Muzorewa has analyzed such a process within what he termed "an occupation-specific and time-specific model". The occupation-specific perspective refers to the Africanization of those positions which carry high public visibility, the Principal of the only university in the nation. The time-specific frame, on the other hand, refers to the fact that "pressures for Africanization are greatest at and immediately after independence". From this explanation one can assume that the search committee will appoint a black Principal. But this will depend upon several factors, such as the foresight of the all-white search committee, the availability of a "suitable" candidate with the stature of the political changes after Lancaster. It is possible to speculate that the search committee may decide on a makeshift arrangement until the normalization of the political situation. One such possibility is to appoint a white acting principal with two vice-principals, one of whom will be a black understudy for the principalship. The other possibility is to appoint a black academic who is about to retire to act as a stop-gap principal until the ordering of the political system. Yet another possibility is to appoint a white principal for two or three years. The argument in favour of this option is that the white principal will be seen to be "politically neutral", particularly during this period of political fluidity and uncertainty. In a nutshell, the university will undertake to institute its own version of the "transition" from a predominantly white university to a black university.

N. T. Chideya works in administration and M. J. M. Sibanda is a lecturer in the history department at the University of Rhodesia.

The search committee is faced with a formidable task of finding a successor to Robert Craig.

Some sources have suggested that Professor Craig may have been forced to retire as a result of pressure from the international world, particularly from Britain. The rationale here is that his retirement would facilitate the mobilization of much-needed university funds and a quick return to the country's Commonwealth University status. Whatever the reasons for his premature retirement, the fact remains that Professor Craig's decision at this juncture has precipitated a crisis for the search committee.

Freedom for whom...from what...to do what?

The Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy (CAFD) was established in 1970 under the auspices of the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL). To be or to become a member of CAFD you have also to be or to become signed up with the NCCL, although membership of the latter does not in the same way demand membership of the former. After a lot of fairly noisy activity in the first half of the seventies, the last CAFD move to be at all widely noticed was a reply to the Gould Report—a pamphlet published in 1978 under the title *The Attack on Higher Education—Where Does It Come From?* But at its peak—or perhaps the future will show that I ought to have written "at its first peak"—this pressure group achieved a kind of official status.

For one thing Penguin Books commissioned and published a manifesto compiled on behalf of and copyrighted by CAFD. Thus in the preface to Anthony Arblaster's *Academic Freedom* (Penguin Education Special, 1974) the author states: "I wrote this book at the request of the executive committee of the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy, through whom it was commissioned." The blurb, seemingly speaking not only for Arblaster but also for his publishers, asks: "Freedom for whom, in practice? and from what, to do what?"

It proceeds: "In posing these questions, Anthony Arblaster mounts an intelligent attack on those who seek to monopolise power and to repress dissent and experiment in the educational world." It is a much more remarkable example of what in any disfavoured case Arblaster himself would certainly characterize as Establishment status is that, for some months within that first period, *The Times* ran a CAFD column "sponsored by the pressure group itself rather than by employees of Times Newspapers. There has been, I believe, no parallel to this enviable (and remarkable) privilege in either *The Times* itself or any of its weekly stable mates.

These facts are indices of the success which CAFD has had in winning attention for its causes. But they also suggest something

Antony Flew argues that the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy does not live up to its name

about the true nature of those causes themselves. From the beginning it has presented itself as a fighting association for companions of the resistance. They are to see them as outsiders and dissenters all, dedicated each and every one to an uphill struggle against the entrenched if not actually advancing forces of darkness. Thus, on the first page of the first chapter of the manifesto, we read: "There are signs that our choices have already made their choice—for repression. . . . The 'system' is tightening up. Dissent, whether peaceable or not, becomes increasingly suspect and risky."

Such paranoia, or such pretence of paranoia, is wholly incongruous with the context of its presentation, and copyrighted by CAFD. Thus in the preface to Anthony Arblaster's *Academic Freedom* (Penguin Education Special, 1974) the author states: "I wrote this book at the request of the executive committee of the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy, through whom it was commissioned." The blurb, seemingly speaking not only for Arblaster but also for his publishers, asks: "Freedom for whom, in practice? and from what, to do what?"

Again, Arblaster asks: "Where are the chairs in Marxism, . . . ? If he means the chairs tenable only so long as their incumbents con-

tinued to profess and preach Marxist doctrines, then the answer is: 'In all, but—I would hope—only the last now.' Many Marxist socialists are now about professors who are but do not have to be Marxists, professors perfectly free to study Marxism and to express their own Marxist opinions, then he has no need to look beyond the ranks of CAFD's activities.

The first significance of this strong and tenured Marxist presence is that it, like the Penguin publication of *Academic Freedom*, scarcely consists with Arblaster's picture of mounting repression. More important is what it suggests about the actual scope and direction of CAFD's interests. Suppose we came across some outfit in which paid up members of the National Front were prominent; or in another time and place, members of the Nazi Party in Germany. Having no fear of the unheard-of charge of "fascist-baiting", we should be most reluctant to accept that outfit on its own pretensions to be straightforwardly dedicated to integrating coloured people or Jews into the national life.

Concerned that it should both be and be seen to be in good faith, the NCCL long ago decided to exclude members of the Communist Party from its offices and even its ranks. That the NCCL has very obviously never taken this principled American stand is, surely, one of the reasons why chooses not to make the right of free association; in particular the right to join or not to join a trades union—especially important in this country where both the major unions and the TUC are partisan political organisations, constitutionally committed to socialism.

In the blue leaflet handed to post the CAFD press secretary, we are told that academic democracy is offered as two equal and, it is alleged, inseparable aims. Although this distinction is not made, it is clear that the demand is for democracy in both the social mixture and the majoritarian senses. This

being so it is surely negligent to make no attempt to come to terms with the often realized possibility that a majority will be for conformity and against liberty. Other statements reveal a third aim, which in fact appears to be the first priority, and which we have ever more reason to believe is in practice incompatible with the original two.

For instance: in *The Case for Academic Freedom and Democracy* (CAFD, undated) four executive members—John Giffith, Ralph Millbrand, David Page, and John Westergaard—make plain their own overriding socialist commitments. Thus in 1973 after a Sussex mob—apparently infuriated by some alleged involvement on the anti-Communist side in Indochina—had prevented Professor Humdon of Harvard from giving a lecture, CAFD stepped forward to rebuke both the university authorities and the organizers of the howl-in. These latter went away, apparently, when they perceived that their plans after an inquest student meeting: "At that time they put themselves in the position of arrogating to a minority the right to exclude views from the university."

Later, in a resumed debate referring both to several such particular affairs and to the notorious general NUS resolution urging constituent unions to ban the campus to all speakers ruled by them to be "fascist or racist", CAFD remained according to a report in *The Times* May, 1974, split down the middle; and this despite urgings from the parent NCCL to join the chorus of condemnation. There was even an attempt to win majority support for a resolution to "urge the NUS to support the right of free association, and to oppose the scoundrels out"; and that democratization was quickly followed by "a restoration of capitalism". Ponder, for example, the stated reasons for the 1968 riotous Czechoslovakian: "Those who are travelling in opposite directions do not make plans together."

ment *The Fallacies of Scientific Communism*, issued in 1971 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow: "Having once acquired political power, the working class implements the liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production. . . . As a result, under socialism, there remains no ground for the existence of any opposition parties counterbalancing the Communist Party." The monopoly socialist party does not, of course, have to have been originally organized as nor now to be called a Community Party.

So far some reasons have been indicated for suspecting that CAFD might not be exactly what it would sometimes have wished to seem. The actual track record has done nothing to encourage such suspicions. Thus in 1973 after a Sussex mob—apparently infuriated by some alleged involvement on the anti-Communist side in Indochina—had prevented Professor Humdon of Harvard from giving a lecture, CAFD stepped forward to rebuke both the university authorities and the organizers of the howl-in. These latter went away, apparently, when they perceived that their plans after an inquest student meeting: "At that time they put themselves in the position of arrogating to a minority the right to exclude views from the university."

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Why Christians need living language for their worship

"We know the difficulties of the liturgy and the need for living language. We ask only that the traditional texts be restored to a central and regular place of honour in the mainstream of worship."

(Outside back cover of *PN Review* 13)

"I would strongly support whoever it was who said 'If the Authorized Version was good enough for St Paul, it should be good enough for anybody'."

(Michael Foot, quoted in *PN Review* 13)

Michael Foot epitomizes those who signed the petition to the General Synod of the Church of England asking that the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer should continue to be used in churches as part of the mainstream of worship—just as part of the literary rhythms of the seventeenth century, he ought to have done. But the first quotation above gives away more of the factual misunderstanding which he has been claiming the Petitioners' cause. I list three:

First, the Church of England is neither running a museum, nor opening a "nativity home. With liturgy we are not asking ourselves which *object* we ought to have the central place. True, we do face this question when we discuss the ruins, medieval architecture and parish treasures. We cannot demolish these, nor let them decay, so we preserve them (at great cost and trouble) and risk becoming caged.

answers differ. Some parishes will use 1662 until the year 2000, and it will always be available. Let there be no misunderstanding here—1662 can thrive wherever it is wanted.

But many other parishes want modern-language services. They argue that a living current language is proper for the worship of living Christians. If St Paul is to be invoked, then let his language be scrutinized. It was not "historicized" address to God. It lacks the periods of classical Greek. It betrays a burning message rather than a beautiful style. Paul writes vernacular letters using similar language to praise God and to mention the sickness of a friend. The Gospels are the same. The incarnate Lord adopted himself to the culture of his place and time, and so his church must do today. Living as Christians from Monday to Saturday inhibits us from a flight into a cultural ghetto for worship on Sundays. A root-and-branch discontinuity of life and liturgy divorces worship as play-acting, an escape from reality into a dated ritual. It was to end this discontinuity that Cranmer abolished Latin and introduced the vernacular. Thus the principle which underlies the Book of Common Prayer is the very reason why the liturgy is being superseded. Which should we honour—the spirit or the letter?

No one pretends that modern language will fill the churches. But adult converts ought to be able to step naturally into being worshippers. How absurd that a convert should be warned to undergo cultural orientation before he enters for living Christianity. But what if worshippers have no hour of two each Sunday, and they then ask themselves "How can we take the valuable literary heritage of our church and this culture, and use it in our worship?"

domesticated in particular congregations. Oxford may say the Book of Common Prayer is Latin (do they still?). Cathedrals may keep their choral evensongs. But parish churches, affirming the same faith, may well need a liturgy which is authentic to the life of the congregation.

The second misunderstanding is to think that General Synod can do the right thing. "Central" or "regional" in parish life. Yes, some parishes do provide the once-a-month 1662 which David Martin says would make the petition unnecessary. But the parish decides, not the Synod. A parish may decide that this practice would polarize its congregation, or irritate people by constant oscillation of texts. The parish is trying to foster the congregational life of its worshippers. And although modern services do not cause growth in church life, they certainly march in step with growth where that is found. In any case the parish decides.

The third misunderstanding concerns the clergy, who are held responsible for the choice of services. In fact the incumbent and his church council together decide. The *Daily Mail* wrote last month: "The priests . . . are accused of cheating the faithful of their inheritance and giving them a mess of potage instead." But it is not so—in thousands of parishes regular worshippers have cried out for modern services, and have taken to them like ducks to water. The address is open to the 800,000 petitioners. Let them be elected to their church councils and use persuasion there. They cannot alter us from the outside, and they should not. The priests, in other words, are not the cause of the changes. During the long (and, in some cases, permanent) absence from worship, regular worshippers have a declining interest in running linguistic museums. The whole issue of *PN Review* 13



To what worshipping tradition should newcomers come.

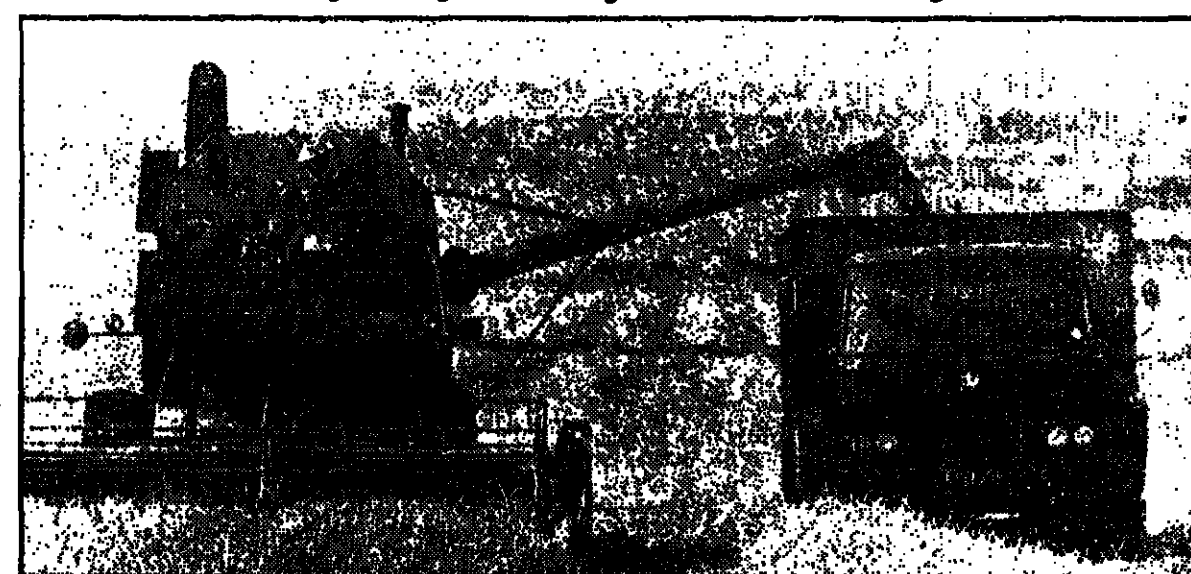
bristles with other misunderstandings and factual errors. Synod brushed it aside. The modern services go in 1980 into a new services book. Parishes retain the right to decide. They are unlikely to bow to the "cultural heritage" lobby. For we need new continuity, not ossification. Of course, we could return to travelling by stage-coach, lighting by candles, heating by log-fires, and sleeping in night-caps. But we will only so regress when there is functional necessity. (Like lack of energy sources?) not when romanticism is the theme of the best-written diatribe. But what is the knowledge of God across the classes and places in England today?

Stained-glass windows may stay, but liturgy is functional, and for driving a car I need a transparent windshield, not a stained-glass one. "Green" renderings of epic and wisdom, prophecy and poetry, epistle and gospel," as the *PN Review* suggests may stay, but in what rendering will worshippers most likely hear them? When is the transpa-

The Rev Colin Buchanan
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This is the final contribution to the language of common prayer debate.

BOOKS

An everyday story of country folk



Before Howard Newby's study, "the development of agribusiness and the increasing rationalization of capitalist agriculture had gone largely unremarked."

Green and Pleasant Land? social change in rural England by Howard Newby Hutchinson, 18.95 ISBN 0 09 14036 0 332

We seem to take it blithely for granted that there is something virtuous about life in the country. We bandy about vague ideas of the "good life", of protecting the environment from the ravages of urban sprawl and the depredations of factory-farming, at the same time as we hanker after second (or even first) homes in little flower-bedded cottages tucked securely away in the heart of a "real" village, equipped with authentic scrubbed-pine farmhouses, kitchen tables, log fires, and brass bedsteads. These things figure in our dreams, and more especially in the pages of colour supplements and glossy magazines. Throughout virtually the entire western world urban man (or to be sociologically precise, certain strata within western society) appears to long nostalgically for the rural idyll his forefathers left behind in their painful migration to the metropolitan job.

Howard Newby's *Green and Pleasant Land?* takes this powerful ideology, this folk-dream of a romantic and timeless rural world, and subjects it to merciless scrutiny. It is a superb analysis of social change in rural England, a study which could be done on the rural nostalgia industry of most western capitalist countries—France, for example, is in some ways even more in thrall to the rural idyll than we are). The book is clearly intended to appeal not only to those who are engaged in professional interest in the countryside, but to the general reader as well. As such, it stands as a very necessary corrective to those who say that sociology cannot speak without jargon and technical abstraction. Newby's style is at once engaging and inclusive, and his analysis of everything from landownership to the environmental lobby open up and simplify many issues that would hitherto have required dogged study to unravel.

The book is a comprehensive examination of virtually every aspect of rural life, covering key topics like landownership; the farming industry and its political economy; the farmworker and his pay and conditions; the changing structure of the village; rural housing; environmentalism, agriculture and ecology; recreation and access; rural planning; and the bleak side of country life—rural poverty.

Yet despite Newby's success in making the book a fascinating general study rather than a sociological monograph, he should recognize the secure foundations of sociological research and scholarship which are its base. In some important ways this book is a product of the decline of rural sociology as an academic discipline. Newby in particular is one of the very small number of young sociologists who have sought to re-align the study of rural society with theories, concepts and methods drawn from mainstream sociology. Their dissatisfaction with the moribund nature of British rural sociology (and the theoretical stagna-

tion of its American counterpart) led them to seek a new understanding of the rural world. Whereas traditional rural sociology (which in this country virtually disappeared in the early 1960s) had placed an inordinate emphasis on the stability, cohesion and social homogeneity of rural communities, Newby and his colleagues explored the social relations of agriculture, seeing the rural world as a working environment rather than as a haven of harmony and social peace. As a result they began to look at the disharmonies and conflicts in rural society which follow from class divisions—an aspect previously largely ignored, because only the agriculturally more marginal and less capitalistically organized rural areas had been studied.

Despite the fact that agriculture is the United Kingdom's largest single industry, in output-value terms, and is certainly one of the most prosperous and efficient of the whole world, capitalist farmers were until the early 1970s a sociologically invisible social stratum in the British class structure. All the attention in itself admittedly directed towards the rural world had been on small scale pastoral farmers who mostly lived a family labour to run their farms. The East Anglian wheat barons, or big Cotswold livestock farmers who organized their farming on highly commercialized lines with a hired labour force had been almost completely ignored. Similarly, the development of agribusiness and the increasing rationalization of capitalist agriculture had gone largely unremarked, a case of two of the most important changes in the rural world being completely missed.

Green and Pleasant Land? starts from the premise that we will not be able to grasp what has been going on in the countryside without looking closely at agriculture. Two important earlier books, *The Deferential Worker* (Penguin, 1977) and *Property, Patronism and Power* (Hutchinson, 1978) Newby has examined the social relations of agriculture—looking particularly at both farmers and farmworkers. Indeed if there is a single definable starting point, for

the book under review it is Newby's fascination with the plight of the agricultural worker. In *The Deferential Worker* Newby reported the result of a major study of East Anglian farmworkers—a topic which was chosen because it spotlighted some interesting problems in the study of social stratification. Why were farmworkers so poor? Why had they not held a major strike since 1923? Why was their unionization so limited and patchy? Newby's answers to these questions centre on the political economy of agriculture, and the type of authority relationships between farmer and worker which were evident in the most prosperous and efficient area of British agriculture, the Cambridgeshire and Essex East Angles. This was the heart of British agriculture, where mechanization had gone furthest, where efficiency was the key word and profit the master. Farms are larger than ever, and the area of efficient area of British agriculture, the Cambridgeshire and Essex East Angles. 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A borderer of his age

Sweet & Maxwell 

to turn anybody into an agriculturalist—but that we should be about poverty. Now as far as Field shows, the improved standard of living of the poor since the war has been due to their retaining a constant share of an increasing rice product. But if much slower growth occurs in the future then a permanent improvement must come through redistribution of the product, and the two authors agree that there is no political commitment to this.

Unemployment is an important cause of poverty, and two papers examine unemployment and the operation of labour markets in slow-growing economy. Neither of these attention regional differences in employment nor the apparent co-existence of high unemployment and chronic shortages of certain skills. Such imbalances characterise British labour markets and seem worth more attention than they receive here.

Although it is fair to say that a few of the authors would claim a great originality for their papers, most are restating views that have expressed elsewhere—it is very useful to have them put together to attack a well defined issue.

Keith Nor

Sweet & Maxwell

Overseas continued



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Union-view

Beware the descent into tribalism

A number of vice-chancellors and principals (and indeed one or two leading academics) have been touting the view that drastic measures are necessary in the university sector to meet the cuts that are now being imposed on public expenditure by the Government.

The views expressed inside proposals to close some universities, institutes or schools and close down some university departments. Other vice-chancellors are posing the question of pay against jobs and are making veiled threats about redundancies of staff in an emotional and highly charged way.

Unfortunately, these views are being echoed among many normally rational members of staff in institutions. The AUT is concerned about what is being said because of the risk of a genuine mistake or misunderstanding of the position and at worst it is downright malicious.

If such statements gain credibility and start to be shared by large numbers of people within the university sector it will be a descent into tribalism.

The general arguments will then be something like this: "Universities should be closed, but not my university—we're successful."

"Departments should be closed, but not my department—my subject is more important."

"People must be declared redundant, but not me—I am still making a worthwhile contribution."

Those who take up this stance will often genuinely believe these things from the point of view of their own department. It is a pity that some of their colleagues do not follow suit.

In the coming months AUT will

be driving home both nationally and in the individual institutions the need to give priority to the jobs of university staff wherever difficulties may occur, and this will be done both on trade union grounds and educational grounds. We cannot, and will not, tolerate the wastage of intelligent people for the sake of economic and political dogma.

In all of this, AUT recognises that one of its major tasks is to ensure that university teachers, academic and related staff must act collectively to have any impact. This is no mean task in a profession which, by its very nature, encourages an individual approach to problems, with members of staff seeing matters in the perspective of their own subject—or at best—in terms of their own department, school or faculty.

Because of this dedication to the learning and research processes, there is a tendency to what can be called "the turn your coat collar up and let the wind blow over" syndrome. In previous years no real harm has come from this outlook. But now that the wind is blowing, it is time to start looking outwardly on the real world as it is, and not as we would like it to be.

The AUT is the only representative body through which the organised voice of the university teacher can be heard, speaking as it does all the disciplines and all levels of academic and related staff.

The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals claims that it cannot speak on behalf of the universities. The University Grants Committee has a dual role: while being the body to convey the financial needs of the universities to the Government it is also a confidential adviser to the Government.

Only the AUT, whatever its imperfections may be, is geared up in a democratic way to speak on behalf of the profession, and this it must do in a loud and clear way over the coming months.

Laurie Sapper

Science in America

Anger simmers over genetic engineering



Clive Cookson

The echoes of the great 1978 debate over the safety of recombinant DNA or "gene splicing" research have not quite died away. Few American scientists still feel obliged to wear politicians and public that genetic engineering may pose grave dangers to mankind, by accidentally making new disease-producing micro-organisms that modern medicine could not control.

But the voices of caution have been less loud this year than those clamouring for further relaxation of the safety guidelines introduced by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in 1976 and already liberalised somewhat in 1978. And in the background, steadily rising in volume, is the jingle of cash: investors, big and small, are fighting to buy a piece of the action as recombinant DNA technology approaches commercial application.

Four small specialist companies founded to exploit genetic engineering (Cetus, Genentech, Genex and

Biogen) are already thought to have a paper value in excess of \$200m. All of them boast distinguished molecular biologists from the academic world as scientific advisers. Of course the pharmaceutical and chemical corporations are also putting together their own recombinant DNA research teams.

These companies are naturally trying to keep their plans as quiet as possible, but the first product of recombinant DNA to be sold commercially is expected to be human insulin developed by Genentech under contract to the multinational drug company Eli Lilly. Last year Genentech, which is based in South San Francisco, got bacteria with synthetic genes to produce large quantities of human insulin, and the process could be operating on a commercial scale within two years.

It would be welcomed particularly by the 5 per cent of diabetics who are allergic to current commercial insulin extracted from animals. Companies doing recombinant DNA research with their own funds are not subject by law to special safety guidelines, because congress never passed any legislation to control genetic engineering. Several Bills to do so were introduced between 1976 and 1978. But the senators and congressmen involved could not agree on a common approach.

However, so far as is known, all the companies have complied voluntarily with the NIH guidelines. Compliance is compulsory for academic researchers whose recombinant DNA work is funded by Government grants (Senator Adlai Stevenson is preparing a Bill that would compel companies to register recombinant DNA experiments that are not federally funded with the NIH).

Although the NIH Regulations on recombinant DNA will undoubtedly be liberalised further, university researchers in this field are clearly going to have to go on working under some form of special restriction, whether imposed from Washington or by local governments. This infuriates those molecular biologists who now believe that the fears expressed three years ago were completely groundless and that the risks of genetic manipulation are no greater than conventional experiments with the same organisms.

A common, and unfortunate, reaction is that the biologists who drew public attention to the possible dangers of recombinant DNA in 1976, and called for a moratorium, were wrong to express their

fears so openly. The implication is that the next time scientific concern arises about a new line of research the scientists will try to keep quiet about it.

Sentiments like these, which have been expressed most sharply by James Watson co-winner of the "double helix" Nobel Prize, have done the public image of American scientists no good. Firstly they make them seem unrealistic: how could the fears of scores of well-known scientists have been covered up successfully? Trying to conceal their work would have been more damaging than what has actually happened.

Secondly, the episode has given the media more ammunition with which to fire charges that scientists are arrogant and secretive. For example the *Washington Post* wrote in an editorial earlier this year: "The scientific community should get rid of its antiquated notion of being something apart from the society that pays its bills, respect its benefactions and stands to suffer from its excesses and mistakes. Contemporary research is too complex to be performed by anyone but scientists; on the other hand it is too powerful and important to be governed only by scientists."

As the public fuss about recombinant DNA dies away and its commercialization proceeds, genetic engineering is becoming an increasingly popular subject for post-graduate study and research in American universities. And the University of California, Davis, has just sent out a press release hailing "the nation's first undergraduate course in recombinant DNA research."

The Davis course gives science students the chance to spend 10 weeks in the laboratory learning how to isolate specific genes from the bacterial chromosome. "I hope this course will not only remove some of the mystery and suspicion surrounding recombinant DNA research but also give these undergraduates a head start towards becoming tomorrow's doctors and scientists," said geneticist Raymond Rodriguez, who teaches the course. He felt obliged to add: "Since the students are studying only common laboratory strains of bacteria, there is no risk, real or potential, in their recombinant DNA experiments."

President Carter's office of management and budget has issued new regulations for auditing federal grants to universities. Each institution will have to deal with only one "significant agency" in the Government after the rules go into effect next year.

Don's diary

Monday

Looks like another sunny day at the cross-roads of the Mediterranean. White horses have appeared in the sea beyond my bedroom balcony. The view is marred only slightly by the three institutions which dominate the middle distance: the Casino, the Hilton, and the Villa Rosa. But it is still Monday morning, and that sinking feeling of another weekend gone. A mound of essays and undigested material for the week's lectures face me. Is the slow rise of expectations towards the weekend and their sudden collapse at the end of it another example of catastrophe theory? At least my flat is only five minutes down the regional road from the Old University's new campus and today's excitement: a meeting, after two months here, with the Rector.

Ushered into his office we, the visiting lecturer contingent of two, ponder on a possible agenda. Are we to be welcomed after so long? Congratulated? Consulted? The Rector soon reveals himself as a quiet, civilised man: a mathematician struggling logically with the manifest illogicality of Malta's higher education.

The agenda quickly established itself around the terrible injustices suffered at the hands of the government, and more specifically the Prime Minister. Durendorf had recommended more social science and a closer alliance between the university and the Government to meet Malta's future needs: a newly independent country. Yet it seems these recommendations became entangled in a parochial struggle between the Government and an élite and rival power centre, even perhaps their respective leaders.

Tourism, according to the latest Economic Report debated in Parliament this week, has become a major stop-gap to replace the loss of the British Armed Forces. 28 million Maltese pounds, rent and other expenditure. Over 600,000 (mostly British) will visit this year, increasing the population at any one time by nearly 10 per cent. Aside from the irritations of water-deprivation, this massive influx must be a mixed blessing for the employment structure here. One wonders how much of this money finds its way back into industrial investment. The Malta Labour Party's efforts to encourage indigenous state capitalism seem overshadowed by the presence of foreign capital attracted by cheap Maltese labour, particularly from West Germany.

Tuesday

Tuesday is airport day, when visitors, friends and indeed myself arrive or depart on the schedule of the flat-agency. My own arrival was an education in the contradictions surrounding RIP (reasonably important persons): hurdles such as queuing for passport control melt away only to be followed by baggage delays, shared with the rest of the illusion of special status quickly shatters, and is then renewed by the spectacle of two rival limousines sent from the university and the flat-agency vying for my transport. The agency wins!

Having said goodbye to a departing friend on this occasion it is time to return for evening lectures since the majority of social studies students work during the day. Ironically these 50 students are fulfilling one of the major aspirations of current higher education policy which the Old University is determined to have avoided: the combination of work and study. While condemned by Durendorf as impractical (as Khrushchev found out to his cost in the 1960s in the USSR), this notion of polytechnical education seems a good idea in principle. Unfortunately, for these students and for their counterparts in the New University, who alternate full-time work and study every six months, the current arrangements mean over-teaching and under-learning in the time they have available.

Wednesday

The high-spot of this week has arrived. First in the morning, is the two-hour lecture slot for my course here. Second, after lunch, my first opportunity to penetrate the enemy position in the old campus of the New University, where its Rector (ex-Newcastle polytechnic) is opening a new seminar series with talk about his university's progress since 1977.

A revealing hour and a half follows. We discover that the New University is being patterned after the public sector (unfounded) in the way it is managed. By vocational courses, are heavily favoured to meet Malta's future manpower needs for teachers,

doctors, engineers, accountants and so on. During 1980 the final absorption of the Old University will be complete and a new child will appear—the Amalgamated (sic) University. When pressed by our man on the spot with the universal questionnaire, the Rector revealed the breadth of his autonomy: he did not feel able to discuss what he actually saw Malta's needs as being; he did not know and could not decide how many students were needed or should be admitted. Instead he banged the table: "Let me finish—Let me finish!" and harangued his own staff for poor staff-student relations and for spending too little time liaising with student-workers' employers. On top of an average of 16 contact-hours per week (48 weeks a year) this will leave little time for anybody to do research on what it's all for!

Thursday

The weather has at last settled down into a "St Martin's" (Indian) Summer after some of the worst storms in living memory in late October and early November. The evidence is still very visible with some roads blocked, many badly damaged, and stone walls and valuable top-soil washed away all over the island. Although the ex-patriates in my block have long since abandoned the communal pool (it's always colder than the sea), I sneak off to join a few tourists for an early December swim, with the air still at 20 degrees C and the sea at 17 degrees.

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Friday

Another beautiful day beckons this working tourist off-campus after morning lectures. Perhaps a cruise round the harbour, or a visit to the spectacular caves on the south coast should be taken in while the weather holds. My schedule of sight-seeing is running behind with only a short while to go before my return to Kent and the reality of book-proofs, research and a Tory industrial winter.

When I was a post graduate student my professor blocked an application I tried to make to teach overseas. "Get yourself established here," she said. "Then you'll be in a position to offer something valuable to other [and by implication, lesser] universities." Is this, I wonder, what I am doing here? Does Malta need a British élite university system anymore? Certainly the local bourgeoisie demands it, and succeeded in packing the student body with their own children. The proportion of working class students has been pitifully small. But the heavily vocational New University will not offer them much more. The only alternative is to study abroad—which until recently meant Britain. But it's only too clear that the new foreign students fee structure has completely closed that opportunity. Every single student contemplating further study here has turned to North America as the only alternative where financial support looks more hopeful. I share their disappointment and frustration.

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